

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Sociology of Frank Wilson Blackmar	
MELVIN J. VINCENT	503
Conquest by Pastoral Nomads	
HOWARD BECKER	511
Proverbs and Social Control	
WILLIAM ALBIG	527
American Relations with China	
ARTHUR G. COONS	536
Mobility Patterns of Urban Strangers	
MAPHEUS SMITH	545
Statements as Opinion Indicators	
D. D. DROBA	550
Mexico Looks at the United States	
ALFONSO R. CARILLO	558
Social Welfare Projects and the City	
EMORY S. BOGARDUS	562
Book Notes	571
Pacific Sociological Society Notes	577
International Notes	579
Social Research Notes	582
Social Drama Notes	585
Social Photoplay Notes	586
Index Volume XV	587

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF FRANK WILSON BLACKMAR

1854-1931

MELVIN J. VINCENT

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NOURISHED by many vicarious human experiences, the personality of Frank Wilson Blackmar has left its bold tracteries upon the face of the sociological movement in the United States. This is not strange. To have known the man was to have been impressed. A characteristic gentility, a supreme kindliness, a delicate shading of humor—these added to a singularly independent outlook marked his conversation with an element of distinction. And so it was, that those of us who knew him as friend and coworker experienced a feeling of loss when word of his death came.

He had attained a unique and noteworthy place among sociologists. He long had been held in venerable esteem as a distinguished pioneer of the sociological movement in this country. He had been the first to use the term, Sociology, in connection with a university department. This was in 1889 when he had been called to the University of Kansas to preside over a department devoted mainly to Political Science. His textbook, *Outlines of Sociology*, written in collaboration with Professor Gillin, long held first place amongst introductory texts. Highest honor

among sociologists was accorded him in 1919 when he was chosen as President of the American Sociological Society. His adopted state, Kansas, bestowed recognition upon him on numerous occasions, and he, in return, was intensely affected with Kansan enthusiasm, many of his writings having been devoted to a narration of the historical events in that state.

His was an expansive sympathetic nature, ever ready to be utilized in the interests of those whom he held to be submerged by tyrannous oppression;¹ likewise, he was ever ready to dwell upon the general excellences of those social experiments which he deemed essential to social progress.² It is not remarkable, therefore, that his sociological writings should be readily sprinkled with ethical insistences. Only recently, he wrote: "The final aim of sociology will be found in discovering and developing a harmonious ethical relation."³

Reviewing the sociological content of many of his important contributions, it is clear that Dr. Blackmar represented many of the traits of the historian. Though he was not unmindful of the emphasis which the newer sociology places upon the group, his strong individualism provoked him to stress the role of the individual in society. Thus he

¹ He was more than ordinarily interested in the Indian and his social status. As early as 1892, he had made a study of Indian education in the United States, using Haskell Institute as a center for his investigation, and he seems to have kept an eye upon the Indian and his place in the United States ever since. As late as January 1929, he wrote an excellent article for the *American Journal of Sociology* entitled, "The Socialization of the American Indian," in which he recorded the changes in the social consciousness of the Indian, changes which he held were making for better socialized relationships with the white population. He closed his article with a plea for a program which would hasten the socialization process, writing that "it may be said to make an Indian efficient among Indians is of great value, but to make an Indian a citizen among citizens in the political world and a worker in the industrial world with a recognized place in the social life is of prime importance." (*American Jour. of Sociology*, XXXIV:669.)

² Cf. "The Court of Industrial Relations," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:84 ff., also "Is Prohibition a Failure?" *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:156 ff.

³ "Social Co-Ordinators," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII:507.

reports: "Society is composed of individuals and its quality will be determined by the character and quality of the individual working especially for himself and generally for the good of all."⁴ And this, as a balance to his anthropological background and its emphasis upon the culture concept. The particular stress upon the individual may be further witnessed throughout the pages of his unique little treatise, *Justifiable Individualism*. It is very likely that this point of view, inculcated by his historical bent, was further strengthened by his strong predilection for eugenic philosophy, eugenics always having been a favorite subject for his lecture courses. He may even be found writing: "In the germ plasm of the individuals are the factors that determine the physical and mental traits of the offspring. This is not a social function. No rule of action of the group, no wise laws, no social cooperation can change this fundamental law."⁵ This of course could be challenged by the group realist, for he might show how group action could at least interfere with the propagation of certain individuals, and might meet still further opposition from those environmentalists who hold that it is possible to modify human nature considerably.

Much as he decries the current attempts of social movements to absorb the individual, his sociology sharply brings him to account, and he saves himself from too great an attack by rightly stating that: "The only individualism that is justifiable is that which is built up in the service of others."⁶ This is in the nature of a commendable sociological aphorism, and indicates perhaps that the title of his little book was not aptly chosen, for after all, one who works in the service of others can no longer be labeled as

⁴ *History of Human Society*, p. 499.

⁵ *Justifiable Individualism*, p. 57.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

an individualist. What he wished to emphasize most strongly was that a group might be just as selfish and careless of other interests as any individual might be. Certain it is, that Dr. Blackmar deserves great credit and praise for analyzing the intrinsic demerits of those group organizations which operate under the guise of cooperatives, when that cooperation is confined within the scope of their own membership. Suspicion must be fastened generally upon such groups when no evidence of their cooperative tasks reflects itself into the social milieu as a whole. He pierces the situation strikingly well in his expose of certain public service corporations, calling them *public exploitation* corporations, and stating: "I have known good men, officials of a company, to seek the good of the company without considering the welfare of the public."⁷ Thus he is an able champion of the larger group after all, seeing most clearly that social service is a requisite for the everyday needs of a healthy society.

It is in his solicitation for the general welfare of society that his social thought reveals itself most forcefully. Strongly insistent upon a return to the spiritual emphasis given to the world by Jesus, his voice demands a present-day social activity concerning itself with teaching men to live together justly, righteously, and harmoniously. He never tires of writing: "So far as moral forces are concerned, perhaps the teaching of Jesus has been the greatest coordinator of ethical action in modern times. This is of tremendous importance inasmuch as the ultimate end of all sociological study is to coordinate and harmonize ethical action. It comes the nearest to standardization of human conduct of any social coordinator that may be mentioned."⁸ In this measure, comes that vision without

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁸ "Social Co-Ordinators," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII:509.

which the people perish. Through the pursuit of truth, man is revealed to himself, and God to him.

He could and did diagnose the danger spots and flaws in the social fabric. Especially dear to his heart was the principle of political liberty, and he deplored the extent to which American people "by their indifference or their wickedness, sold their birthrights to politicians and demagogues and the power of wealth, that it seems almost impossible to work with any speedy radical reform."⁹ Only through continued effort, loyalty, sacrifice, and service can the citizenry of a country attain correct government. Liberty may be an expensive thing, but it is essential to the development of a free and enlightened people. And so, if a real democracy is to obtain, "if popular government is to succeed, if the freedom of the people is to be guaranteed, there must be persistent effort on the part of the people to prepare themselves for their own government; a willingness to sacrifice for liberty, for liberty will endure only so long as people are willing to pay the price it costs."¹⁰

For the propagation of sociological thought and theory, he was an ardent and enthusiastic worker. He might well have been called, too, a defender of the faith. For him, sociology was a science to be pursued for enlightenment, the purpose of all science. Even in its present stage of adolescence, he saw that it already had been able to give a "more or less distinct social attitude of mind to other branches of social science."¹¹ Especially was he interested in the proper pedagogical dissemination of the science.¹² And he was concerned with its future. Analyzing the state of sociology in 1926, he remarked that sociology had suf-

⁹ *History of Human Society*, p. 424.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

¹¹ "The Sociology Complex," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, X:206.

¹² "Methods of Teaching Sociology," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, X: 308 ff.

ferred from attempts to grow too rapidly, that it had been stigmatized as a panacea, that the other social sciences had met it with jealousy, that the brightest minds had not been attracted to it. But further, he records, optimistically: "The redeeming feature of present-day sociology must be the spirit of independent research which seeks to know the truth of social relations. . . . Freedom of thought and work by many minds will eventually clarify the science, invoke toleration, and discriminate between well established truth and worthless assumption."¹³

Truly, we may say then that sociology has lost one of its most enthusiastic workers, a worker gallant and strong, fighting almost ceaselessly for better social conditions, for a life which would give to humanity greater contentment and greater happiness. Despite his emphasis upon the superior individual and his championship for individuality untrammelled by group interferences, he could see that "all achievement comes from human association," and that the "contact of mind with mind, the direction of leadership of others, the use of social heritage, are group processes without which no individual may receive an education."¹⁴ And so, while embracing an older point of view, he yet beckons welcomingly toward the newer. Enough that he has fought for a place for sociology amongst the sciences, that he has seen sociology as a science with a high purpose, indeed, no less a purpose than that of furnishing man with the equipment gained by clearly understanding his own destiny—"the highest culture of mind and body and the keenest enjoyment of the soul."¹⁵

¹³ "The Sociology Complex," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, X:212.

¹⁴ *Justifiable Individualism*, p. 32.

¹⁵ *History of Human Society*, p. 457.

A LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WRITINGS
OF DR. FRANK WILSON BLACKMAR

- 1890—*Federal and State Aid to Higher Education in the United States.*
Spanish Colonization.
The Study of History and Sociology.
- 1891—*Spanish Institutions in the Southwest.*
- 1892—"Indian Education," *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. II, pp. 813-37.
 "Haskell Institute as Illustrating Indian Progress," *Review of Reviews*, Vol. V, pp. 557-62.
- 1896—*The Story of Human Progress.*
- 1900—*History of Higher Education in Kansas.*
 "Higher Education in Kansas," *United States Education Circular*, II:1-166.
 "Mastery of the Desert," *North American*, Vol. 182: 676-88.
 "Salton Sea," *World To-day*, Vol. II: 757-59.
Charles Robinson, The Free State Governor of Kansas.
- 1902—*The Life of Charles Robinson, The First Governor of Kansas.*
- 1905—*The Elements of Sociology.*
- 1906—"Economics and Politics of the Reclamation Service," *Forum*, Vol. 38:131-38.
- 1907—*Economics for High School.*
- 1911—"Leadership in Reform," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVI:625-33.
- 1914—*Outlines of Sociology* (in collaboration with J. L. Gillin). Revised editions, 1923, 1930.
 "Reasonable Department of Sociology for Colleges and Universities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XX:261-63.
- 1915—"Where Progressive Kansas Has Been Lax: Housing Prisoners," *Survey*, Vol. 34:161-62.
- 1919—"Presidential Address," *Publications of the American Sociological Society; Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. II, p. 813; *Review of Reviews*, Vol. V, p. 557.
 "A Working Democracy," Presidential Address, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-22.
- 1921—"Hereditary Traits as Factors in Human Progress," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XVI: 154-65.

- "A Justifiable Individualism," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VI: 1-10.
- 1922—*Justifiable Individualism*.
- "Appeal to Human Dignity," *Survey*, Vol. 47:796-98.
- 1923—"The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations: An Attempt to Define the Project in Sociological Terms," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XVIII:73-84.
- "The Court of Industrial Relations," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:84 ff.
- 1924—"Is Prohibition a Failure?" *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:156-59.
- "Mutations of Progress," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, IX:83-90.
- 1926—*History of Human Society*.
- "The Sociology Complex," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, X:203-12.
- "Methods of Teaching Sociology," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, X:308 ff.
- "Diffusion of Culture," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, XI:503 ff.
- 1928—"Social Co-Ordinators," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII:503-11.
- 1929—"Socialization of the American Indian," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV:653-69.
- 1930—"American Indian and Status," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIV:221-232.

CONQUEST BY PASTORAL NOMADS

Prolegomena to a Study of Mental Ability

HOWARD BECKER

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RECENT RESEARCH has established the effect of drought and other adverse climatic conditions in occasioning invasion of territory occupied by other groups (especially settled tillage peoples) by pastoral nomads such as the Kirghiz, Kurds, Tartars, and others. It has also been shown that the "raiding pattern" may be built up in course of time, and that this raiding pattern may eventually give rise to the practice of tribute-taking.¹

Even more significant than these results, however, are certain corollaries to the effect that (1) most raids are of a distinctly minor nature, and do not involve any lasting, sweeping, final, total-group migration, and consequently no conquest of and settlement among tillage peoples, and (2) lasting social change results only from the invasion and *inclusive* conquest of areas poorly adapted to pastoral nomadism, but well fitted for agriculture and trade by virtue of geographical location, ecological position, and level of cultural development. The first corollary has already been discussed in the pages of *Sociology and Social Research*;² the second is now to be considered.

This can best be done by means of a study of the movements of the Germanic hordes which are responsible for familiar historical phrases such as the *Völkerwanderung*,

¹ A paper by the present writer, "Pastoral Nomadism and Social Change," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XV, 417-27, covers these points.

² *Ibid.*

the Era of the Great Migrations, and the Wandering of the Peoples. Our interest in them is not historical, however; for the sociologist they simply represent a case in which certain processes correlated with inclusive conquest and social change are strikingly manifested.

The most immediate conclusion of such study is that mere seasonal fluctuations or transitory climatic changes can have had little to do with such extensive transplantations of humanity; it has already been shown that the raiding pattern may persist for millennia without producing any general shift, any lasting change of habitat.³ Some more fundamental antecedents must be discovered if we are to gain any insight into the processes operative in the later Germanic mass migrations and conquests (especially those of 400-600 A.D.); as a first step toward such discovery, let us consider to what all such transplantations or mass migrations as the *Völkerwanderung* may or may not have been due.

Some negative points must be mentioned. To begin with, the "natural" increase of population cannot be assigned as a universal cause of mass migration. Why? Because of conditions implicitly pointed out by Malthus in two of his fundamental propositions. The first is to this effect: "Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence"; the second: "Population always increases when the means of subsistence increases." The two obviously hang together; what is not so obvious is a corollary that Bateson regards as axiomatic from the standpoint of the biologist—it may be stated thus: "Since population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence, in *normal, stable* conditions it remains stationary."⁴

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ F. J. Taggart, *The Processes of History*, p. 56; A. M. Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem* Oxford, 1922, chaps. i, vii, viii, ix.

Now, we know that the usual state of affairs among simple human groups united by the kinship bond is stability; such isolated sacred communities do not change in appreciable degree. Alterations in the methods of obtaining subsistence are generally quite slow; the food supply is definitely limited by the technique available. The size of the group is in turn limited by the food supply, either directly or indirectly. That is, the group either starves out sufficiently to insure adequate nourishment for the remaining members, or means are taken by the group to limit increase in accordance with the resources available. The latter is by no means uncommon; the use of crude contraceptives or abortifacients and the practice of infanticide by exposure or actual slaughter (strangling, smothering, drowning, etc.) were and are widespread among preliterates. In the animal world the organism wins or loses the struggle for existence on its own vital merits or defects; among preliterate peoples, on the other hand, the most vigorous infant may be killed if the elders decide that the drain upon the food supply is becoming too great. The individual's chances of survival are thus arbitrarily limited by the group as represented by the elders, and the latter usually play safe; the group does not grow at any threatening speed.⁵ Exceptions of course may have occurred; "natural" increase of population may at some time among some people have been so rapid as to have caused a mass migration—the possibility is not excluded—but it cannot be invoked as a universal explanation. Hence such generalizations as the following, if and when applied to all mass migrations, must be rejected:

. . . . migration starts when, for the standard of living in a certain area, the population reaches a point of saturation.⁶

⁵ Taggart, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-68.

⁶ Anderson and Lindeman, *Urban Sociology* (New York: Knopf, 1928), p. 110.

When the hive is too full, a swarm leaves it. Such is the history of all times.⁷

The trouble with "natural" increase theories like the above (and with their elaborations in terms of "overcrowding," "poverty," and "famine")⁸ is that they involve a universalized single-factor fallacy; a whole configuration must be taken into account instead.

Let us turn to our positive considerations.

The Germanic peoples apparently occupied for some time those parts of the semi-forested flatland that impinge on the Carpathians on the south and the Baltic on the north; east and west the limits are marked by the marshes of the Pripiet and by the Oder. This region forms part of the Great Plain and, in direct connection with the broad highway of the Kirghiz steppe, is well adapted to the pastoral economy.⁹

And the Germanic hordes were secondary pastoralists, tenders of herds of oxen instead of horses, and hence, were unlike the primary nomadic Tartars, the horse-herding terrors of the far eastern ranges. The archaeological and historical record plainly tells of early invasions of the Mediterranean peninsulas by Germanic peoples; it also shows,

⁷ P. Vidal de La Blache, *Human Geography*, p. 71.

⁸ It is repeated, parrot-fashion—"feeling the pressure of poverty in their own land," this or that Barbarian People were set in movement. Does this phrase mean that since the economic conditions of this or that region had become too unfavorable to permit of the normal life of the groups inhabiting it, they were bound at all costs to set forth and seek subsistence elsewhere? It is possible; but in that case are we to believe that the number of that country's inhabitants and the tale of its produce has been counted and balanced and that it was found that the economic deficit was serious enough to necessitate such a tremendous event, so potentially disastrous in its consequence, as a mass migration of the people?

In complete opposition to such findings as these, have there not been known in the course of History, and do we not see in many parts of the world to this day, terrible famines—endemic in many countries—which have never been the cause of real migrations? (E. Pittard, *Race and History* (New York: Knopf, 1925, pp. 468-69).

⁹ See William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (5th ed.; New York: Holt, 1926), pp. 2-3, for nomenclature.

not quite as plainly, that they came as fugitives from other pastoralists—not fugitives in wild, headlong flight, to be sure, but none the less terrible for that. A steady pressure, a few miles of wider range each year, slowly displaced or overwhelmed the sedentary peoples in their way; there was raiding and reiving, the looting and burning of cities—and always a stronger push from behind by other pastoral nomads with a somewhat similar culture but with the fierce enmity of primary herdsman for secondary herdsman.¹⁰

Why this steady pressure, this continuous displacement or subjugation, this perpetual conquest?

The first and more general reason is indicated in Huntington's *The Pulse of Asia*; he says that the grassland of the steppes had been slowly drying out for centuries, and as the zone of dessication extended, the pastoralists slowly shifted to the east, west, and south. There probably was no "crowd that acts," no conscious goal, no project of mass migration; the range was simply shifted by a process little different from the regular seasonal migration cycle with its occasional raids. As in present-day South Africa, grazing in the desiccating areas became only a little less desirable each year (barring sudden droughts, which are likely to occur even when no general desiccation is under way); raiding went on about as usual, passing over into more or less continuous conflict only when the available pasture began to get more and more scanty in the course of centuries and when tillage areas of greater and greater population density had to be invaded. Slowly the raiding pattern merged into the conquest pattern; a tillage area once invaded was not abandoned after immediate needs had been satisfied, but was permanently occupied and defended

¹⁰ Primary nomads have animals which can be ridden (camel, horse, etc.); secondary nomads are limited to cattle, sheep, and similar animals.

against other nomads. In other words, the herding-raiding life-organization merged into the conquest life-organization; the organic impulses of the young nomad were defined almost exclusively in terms of warfare; the *Herdsmen-warrior* culture became a *Warrior-herdsman* culture—the pastoral economy was no longer the primary defining influence. The single example of the Golden Horde will serve for many; conflict became conquest!

This, however, is merely a general explanation of the Central Asian mass migrations into China, India, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Asia Minor, the Danubian plains, and the Germanic flatland. It affords no definite reasons for the floods that poured over the Roman and Carolingian world between 100 and 900 A.D.

The specific explanation given by Ujfalvy is to the effect that the building of the Great Wall of China cut off the outlet toward the east and southeast of the Turanian or Tartar steppes, and that the pressure of these powerful groups was then shifted toward the west and south;¹¹ Europe, Persia, and India felt the transmitted shock as the eastern primary nomads began to strike hard against their

¹¹ "Entourée de toutes parts de chaînes de montagnes presque infranchissables, l'Asie centrale ne possède que deux issues: la porte Dzoungare, au Nord-Ouest, et le passage de Yu-Mann, au Sud-Est. Les peuples nomades et pasteurs de ces contrées choisirent surtout ce dernier débouché qui leur permit d'atteindre, en quelques jours de marche, les plaines riches et fertiles de la Chine. A fait nous explique, comment la grande migration des peuples ne s'est effectuée qu'à une date relativement récente dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

"Dans le troisième siècle avant notre ère, les Chinois, las des incursions barbares qui entravaient à chaque instant leur prospérité, construisirent la grande muraille de Chine, opposant ainsi une digue, presque infranchissable, au flot des envahisseurs. Alors, ceux-ci durent se porter ailleurs et, débordant par la porte dzoungare, ils submergèrent la Sibérie occidentale et la dépression aralo-caspienne, franchirent les monts Ourals et vinrent battre de leurs rafales jusqu'aux contreforts orientaux des Alpes.

"La construction de la grande muraille de Chine fut un des événements les plus gros de conséquences, et on peut dire, sans être taxé d'exagération, que cet événement contribua puissamment à la chute prématurée de l'empire de Rome" (Charles de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, Paris, Masson, 1896, pp. 23-24).

similarly pastoral neighbors.¹² India and Persia, however, were densely settled as compared with the Germanic flatland, and the major impact went toward the latter, thus flooding the areas of complex Latin and Celtic culture to the south and west with vast hordes of Germanic nomads having only a simple secondary pastoral or semi-pastoral culture, but with the conquest pattern already well developed.

The general and specific explanations seem reconcilable, and we shall therefore adopt both, although fully aware of their highly controversial nature. They have at any rate given us some inkling of the processes possibly operative in the conquest of settled agriculturists by pastoral nomads, particularly in the conquest of southern and western Europe by the Germanic peoples.

It is this particular inclusive conquest that most of the modern conflict theorists have most in mind when they trace the origins of the State to the subjugation of peasants by nomads; they have universalized a limited period of Eurasian history. Oppenheimer is perhaps the most representative; he epitomizes Gumpłowicz, Ratzenhofer, and a host of others. His theory may be summarized as follows:

When primary or secondary pastoral nomads first make raids upon sedentary peasantry, they immediately resort to the simple device of wholesale pillage and slaughter. La-

¹² "The appearance of a nomad horde on the western border of the steppe may be due to dislocation in the far east. That a shock of this kind should vibrate through the whole chain of nationalities from the Amoor to the Volga would hardly be intelligible if the whole Central Asian region was inhabited by them; for in that case an impulse given in the far east would be like a blow upon a vessel which readily yields in all directions. But the nomads of Central Asia inhabit compactly only a chain of territories separated by deserts, mountains, and oases of culture; and as this is contracted chiefly on the north and south, the propagation from east to west is easily conceivable.

"The history of these nomads shows that they have been induced to overstep their bounds less often by their own wish than by an impulse from without" (F. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, III, 172-73).

ter, however, an enlightened self-interest prompts them to spare the victims, for a live peasant continues to be worth robbing; and, as has been noted elsewhere, a fixed system of tribute-taking arises. Sometimes the tribute is collected by the nomads in person; sometimes it is brought to their tents by the tillers—the latter comes to be the more usual. Still later the nomads settle in the peasants' territory, and this step, says Oppenheimer, "is of very great importance, since it adds *the decisive factor in the development of the state . . . namely, the union on one strip of land of both ethnic groups*. . . . From now on, the relation of the two groups, which was originally international, gradually becomes more and more intranational."¹² Military colonies are established all over the peasants' territory, but the latter are left some independence in the administration of their internal affairs. Finally, the two originally separate groups are welded into a national unit, usually by attacks from without by other nomads; the martial overlords extort what they will from the subordinate castes, but in turn "protect" them from other extorters. The process of inclusion (from which inclusive conquest takes its name) gets under way when community of speech and other influences of contiguity finally aid in the development of common social meanings; relations based upon empathy, sympathy, and other emotional elements arise, and the consequent integration of elements *included* in the stratified whole comes about. At the same time, however, class consciousness is usually fostered by the conquerors' myth of their native superiority. "Soon the bonds of relationship unite the upper and lower strata. In nearly all cases the master class picks the handsomest virgins from the subject races for its concubines. A race of bastards thus develops,

¹² Franz Oppenheimer, *The State*, translated by J. M. Gitterman (New York: Huebsch, 1922), p. 61.

sometimes taken into the ruling class, sometimes rejected, and then [by reason of the prestige attaching to the blood of the masters] . . . becoming the . . . leaders of the subject race. In form and in content the primitive state is completed."¹⁴

If we do not follow Oppenheimer's doctrinaire bent and insist that rationalistic and utilitarian motives dictate the nomads' actions and that all states in Europe, Asia, and Africa have come about in this way, the above theory is safe enough;¹⁵ indeed, it may be said that the great majority of modern European states originated in the process described. This is not our chief concern, however; what we are interested in at this point is the effect of conquest on the nomad. As we saw, movement worked no change in him, nor did movement accompanied by overt, organized conflict; can it be that inclusive conquest, involving as it does, settlement and *close* contact with the mores of subject groups, was the disorganizing configuration? There can be no doubt whatever, in the case of the Germanic peoples, that the disorganization existed; Kuno Francke has thus vividly depicted it:

The first appearance of Germanic tribes in the foreground of European history, the influx of the Northern barbarians into the . . . civilization of the Roman Empire, is marked by a dissolution of all social bonds. Severed from their native soil, thrust into a world in which their ancestral faith, customs, institutions, have no authority, the Teutons of the era of the Migrations experience for the first time on a grand scale the conflict between universal law and individual passion.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁵ " . . . we need not . . . dispense with Oppenheimer's principle when purged of its doctrinaire elements. Apart from the concrete evidence on which it rests, it explains . . . phenomena otherwise not readily intelligible" (R. E. Lowie, *The Origin of the State*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926), p. 42.

¹⁶ Kuno Francke, *History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces* (3rd ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1913), p. 3.

Cf. in this connection: "Individuals coming from a class in which all interests were traditionally social, all activities dependent on the response and recognition of

A good deal of evidence can be adduced in corroboration of Francke's thesis; there is little doubt that change of economy and culture contact, both the result of inclusive conquest, were responsible for the appearance of social change in the form of individual demoralization and social disorganization.

The chief reason for the disorganizing effect of mass migration accompanied by inclusive conquest probably lies in its efficacy in breaking up the *status quo*, in releasing men from social control, in shattering the kinship bond, in loosening the grip of the elders. Bagehot has given us in this connection the striking phrase "breaking the cake of custom"; Ross coined a correlate when he wrote "the pulverization of social lumps"; Le Bon, with the Gallic flair for epigrammatic flavor, thus comments on a related theme: "Civilization is impossible without traditions, and progress impossible without the destruction of those traditions." The same process has been discussed by Taggart about as follows:

Investigation in different fields of the study of man has led many contemporary scholars . . . to observe that . . . [social change] has followed upon the collision of different groups. Pieced together, the conclusions arrived at so far may be summarized in the statement that . . . when a group, forced from its habitat, ultimately by a change in climate, has been brought into collision with another differing from it considerably in culture, *and has remained upon the invaded territory* . . . there ensues as a result of the . . . [inclusive conquest] *the breakdown or subversion of the established* . . . [social control] *of the groups engaged in the struggle*.¹⁷

the immediate environment, cannot remain socially normal if their new environment is not sufficiently close and coherent to follow, understand, and appreciate all their tendencies, to encourage all socially desirable and discourage all socially undesirable acts" (Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2nd ed., New York: Knopf, 1927), p. 1477.

¹⁷ Taggart, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-50, italics ours.

What are some of the ways in which "established social control" may be broken down or subverted—by mass migration accompanied by conquest or by anything else?

A clear understanding of the nature of social control must be given before the question can be even tentatively answered. Social control must not be thought of as merely overt, formal control of a positive or negative sort. The most effective social control is that which is not noticed, which is not overt or formal, which is, as it were, "closer to us than breathing, nearer than hands or feet." The power of the elders may never be exerted in the form of direct command with a definite penalty for disobedience; the part they play in shaping the character-attitudes and life-organization of every younger person in the kinship group makes the necessity for direct control extremely rare in isolated cultures. Avoidances taboos, rites, sanctified methods of work—in short, the mores and institutions—exercise the dominant influence in most cases. The power of social control, then, resides largely in the power of habit, inasmuch as the mores, etc., are in the behavioristic analysis action-patterns or habits. Anything tending to disrupt action-patterns that have a social reference (and few if any habits are without such reference) also tends to disrupt social control, and inclusive conquest is perhaps the most effective of all processes in such disruption, for it forces the adoption of new folkways and mores. Such adoption means that certain habits must be acquired and others abandoned; *personality changes are involved*.

The basic process by which these changes come about seems to be *crisis*. The disturbance of any habit gives rise to crisis in some degree, however minor. A smooth-running habit functions with little or no conscious control; attention is at a minimum. When the habit is disturbed an effort at control is made; this is associated with "becoming

conscious" of the disturbance; this constitutes crisis in the subjective aspect. Attention appears; it seems to be correlated with the establishment of new and more adequate habits which meet the external or objective crisis. As Thomas says, such "conditions as the exhaustion of game, the intrusion of outsiders, defeat in battle, floods, drought, pestilence and famine illustrate one class of crisis." It is obvious that mass migrations accompanied by inclusive conquest fall in a different but related class; such crises tend to force changes upon even the most conservative groups.¹⁸

It should be noted that satisfactory changes, changes that meet the crisis adequately, may be a long time in coming; during the interim *unrest* is likely to become quite evident. The patterns in which the activities of human beings are worked out are based upon the needs of the organism, and are necessarily the product of social definition, since man is born into a social group. These patterns are dependent for their smooth functioning and adequate correspondence to organic needs upon the smooth functioning of the social organizations which define the originally vague impulses resulting from unsatisfied needs. If no solution of the crisis can be found, it is evident that the social organizations of the group are not functioning as they should,¹⁹ and the thwarted or unsatisfied organic needs make themselves objectively known as unrest; internally a state of *tension* is present. Unrest often is manifested in restless trial-and-error seeking; such seeking frequently contravenes the established controls of the culture, but if the thwarting is serious enough, these organic impulses will override the institutional sanctions and go direct to

¹⁸ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁹ No value-judgment is here implied; unrest and maladjustment are neither praised nor blamed; they are inevitable.

their goal if the latter is attainable. The *individual*, divorced from his tradition, appears on the scene. As Francke has said:

. . . . the chief characteristic of the period of the Migrations is a complete uprooting of public morality, a universal overturning of inherited conceptions of right and wrong *the whole fabric of popular custom is broken up*. In the decades, nay, centuries of perpetual fighting and wandering tribal traditions are effaced, the contact with the native soil is lost, family ties are severed, religious beliefs are shattered. And now there appear, as the typical hero and heroine of the period, the man without conscience, the woman without shame, believing in nothing but themselves, restrained by nothing but the limits of their own power, *individuals cut loose from the laws of common humanity*.²⁰

This process of *individuation* has been described at length by Thomas, Park, Burgess, and others; at this point the following quotation must suffice:

Movement in the person, as from one social location to another, or any sudden change carries with it the possibility or the probability of cultural decadence. The cultural controls over conduct disintegrate; impulses and wishes take random and wild expression. The result is personal and social disorganization.²¹

We have already seen that movement *as such* does not necessarily bring about such results, but aside from this, the above quotation is valid. When the "cultural controls over conduct disintegrate," when "impulses and wishes take random and wild expression," the organized social personality has largely disappeared; the elemental biological impulses lose their cultural conditioning, and a type of biohom or feral man emerges who has partially lost the

²⁰ Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, italics ours.

²¹ L. W. Burgess, "The Neighborhood," in *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 150.

cultural traits which may be regarded as distinctively human. A real "wild man" has come into being—the sociological *individual*.

This seems to have been what happened in the culture areas conquered by the Germanic groups; the old controls lost their effectiveness and no new ones were taken on with sufficient rapidity to prevent widespread social disorganization and individuation.

Long before the *Völkerwanderung*, Plato seems to have had a rather clear idea of how these processes are initiated; he was extremely solicitous lest his haven for the blessed, his "Republic," be exposed to culture contact through the medium of travel and trade, through intercourse with peoples conditioned to a different set of stimuli than were to obtain among the men of gold, silver, and iron. He saw that social change and social disorganization are obverse and reverse; that one is rarely found without the other.

The Germanic peoples afford an exceptionally good illustration of this fact; their non-material culture suffered relatively rapid mutation when brought into contact with the more complex Latin and Celtic civilizations, notably in the religious sector. The old tribal gods were quickly abandoned, to reappear as demons and in some instances as saints of the Christian mythology; in fact, nearly all the old sacred practices were placed under the ban of the Church, and although many compromises and concessions were made by the latter, the ban was usually effective. The ties of the isolated sacred community were loosened; before new bonds could be formed, the individual, "the tribeless, lawless, hearthless one," to use the poet's phrase, had appeared. The change suffered by the Germanic religion was of course only one of many similar changes in the non-material culture; the ensuing social disorganization was a resultant of them all.

Such rapid change, disorganization, and individuation eventually slackens in speed, of course, and the Germanic peoples are no exception. The consolidation of the new culture area by inclusive conquest seems to have been the immediate antecedent of the lowered rate, and following this came thoroughgoing reorganization. Stable states were established; the Church won a fairly complete victory; the languages of conquerer and conquered, with few exceptions, blended; intermarriage mixed the racial paste; much of the Latinized material culture of the sessile peoples was taken over; the tradition of the Empire found renewed support in the Carolingians; and the impact of the Arabian nomads gave Europe an out-group which could be hated and was feared, thus fostering the in-group bonds of Christendom. Change never ceased, of course, but its flood tide had markedly ebbed by the tenth century; in fact, European culture was as nearly static as it has ever been before or since, even though the rise of feudalism and the so-called Carolingian and Ottonian Renaissances furnished some dynamic influence. Ecological and social isolation prevailed, as the accounts of voyages and attitudes toward other peoples show; by the ninth and tenth centuries the processes which eventually led to the unified sacred organization of the thirteenth were well under way, i.e., religious sanctions had already attached themselves to and fixated much social behavior. A sort of isolated sacred community arose Phoenix-like from the holocaust of Latinized and Germanic cultures. Reorganization had taken place; individuation had abated; formless congeries of tumultuous tribes had taken on some semblance of cultural unity—in short, Western Christendom emerged from the welter of the Migrations.

Here, then, is a case in which pastoral nomadism and social change appear as antecedent and consequent, but only when linked by the intermediate stage of inclusive

✓ conquest and its concomitant abandonment of the pastoral economy. Let it again be stated that pastoral nomadism *as such* has no significant correlation with social change; other components must enter into the configuration, and of these the most important is inclusive conquest. When we say that nomads migrate, or move, or are mobile, we have said nothing sociologically significant in and of itself. The culture pattern, the total situation, the configuration of internally related components must be considered as well as simple spatial and temporal factors; over-simplification leads to fallacious conclusions.

Moreover, conquest alone does not show any appreciable correlation with social change; it must be *inclusive* conquest. Exclusive conquest, such as the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus and the consequent subjugation of many of its previous inhabitants, with whom no intermarriage was practised and who were otherwise *excluded* from effective contact with the ruling group, shows no significant correlation because of a total situation comprising ecological, social, and mental isolation, the lack of a complex division of labor, the fear of Helot revolt, the prohibition of strangers, military discipline with its fixed motor habits, the absence of a monetary system, the intensity of social control, etc. Conquest that is followed by social change must be *inclusive* conquest.

✕ We may therefore say that pastoral nomadism has indeed played a great part in producing social change, but only through the agency of inclusive conquest. That is to say, only when pastoral nomadism ceases to be pastoral nomadism does it effect the important results so often ascribed to it by Ibn Khaldun, Gumpłowicz, Ward, Cowan, Oppenheimer, and others. Sociologists would do well to inspect some of their current concepts (such as conflict, migration, contact, mobility, invasion, succession, dominance, and so on) with these and similar facts in mind.

PROVERBS AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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"A word is a vehicle, a boat floating down from the past, laden with the thought of men we never saw; and in coming to understand it we enter not only into the minds of our contemporaries but into the general mind of humanity."—C. H. COOLEY.

THE SOCIOLOGIST has attempted but little formal study of language forms in contemporary culture. Studies by ethnologists of the forms of language among primitives have rarely been checked by a parallel analysis of similar categories of forms in our own culture. The psychoanalyst sleuths through the speech of his subjects for clues, for which he provides interpretations often individually unique. The social psychologist as yet has done little in the formal study of language forms indicative of broader cultural implications.¹ Frequent use is made of language forms to illustrate a theory or give literary embellishment to the presentation, but any attempt at quantitative study is notably absent. There are, of course, the articles and monographs of the students of opinion phenomena especially in the field of political and ethical opinions.

The proverb² is a language form which has largely passed from usage in contemporary American culture. Current speech and literature provide but few quotations

¹ The use of such materials has been suggested, vide: K. Young, "The Psychology of Hymns," *Jour. of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 20, pp. 391-406; R. Bain, "Poetry and Social Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 2, pp. 35-49; Odum and Johnson, *Workaday Songs*; F. L. Wells, *Mental Adjustments*.

² There is no absolute agreement as to the definition of a proverb, but the sense of the definitions appears to be that it is a sentence or short statement indicating some supposedly profound reflection on human or, at times, cosmic and supernatural relationships. Lord John Russell called it "the wisdom of many and the wit of one"; Lord Bacon indicated that it was the "genius, wit and spirit of a nation"; while Cervantes declared the proverb to be "a short sentence drawn from long experience."

or allusions to the proverb. Opening a discussion or clenching an argument by the phrase: "The saying is that," or, "There's an old saw that," does not provide the conclusive statement or annihilating thrust in the present verbal conflict tactics. There are isolated areas and surviving cultures, notably first generation foreign language groups of peasant origin, where the proverb retains some of its former vigor as an educational and controlling agent. Many a contemporary parent on attempting to expostulate with his child by the quotation of proverbs would encounter in return, "That's the bunk," or some such phrase. Every popular proverb has seemed good to a multitude of men, but in a culture which has largely dispensed with them, even a single quotation may call forth the wondering ridicule directed toward a cultural variation. Many a contemporary audience considers a proverb somehow vaguely humorous. The proverb is a social definition of a situation. When that situation appears less simple, less personal, and less subject to dogmatic solution to the literary and political leaders who coin such phrases the supply is cut off and the old forms fall into disuse. Other forms of stereotyped phrases take their place.

The following notes on various media of communication indicate the virtual disappearance of the use of the proverb.

1. One issue, July, 1930, of each of twenty-two periodicals of wide circulation was examined for the use of proverbs in its columns, including advertising:

TABLE I

<i>Periodical</i>	<i>No. of Proverbs</i>	<i>Type of Material</i>	<i>Proverb</i>
Sat. Eve. Post	3	Short story	Blood is thicker than water. There's no use crying over spilt milk. Violence breeds violence.

American	2	Short story	Marry in haste to repent at leisure.
Red Book	1	Article	Every rule has an exception.
Nation's Business	1	Article	A woman's place is in the home.
Argosy	2	Story	Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.
Pictorial Review	1	Article	An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.
Outlook	1	Article	Big oaks from little acorns grow.
Popular Mechanics	1	Article	When ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.
Woman's Home Companion	1	Advertising	God helps them that help themselves.
Liberty	2	Editorial	Learn by doing, day by day.
Good House-keeping	4	Story	An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.
Life	7	Items	The bigger they are, the harder they fall.
			The third time is the charm.
			Dead men tell no tales.
			Look before you leap.
			Sow smiles and reap friends.
			Dying men speak the truth.
			Pitchfork to be used in making hay while the sun shines.
			Enameled straws for breaking the camel's back.
			Genuine brass telescope to be used in looking before you leap.
			Set of vari-colored birds, one for in the hand and two for in the bush.
			Ragged vests for honest hearts to beat beneath.
			Extra head to use in cases where two heads are better than one.
			Can of selected worms for early birds.

No Proverbs Used in—

National Geographic
American Legion Weekly
Better Homes and Gardens
Motion Picture Magazine
True Story Magazine
Modern Priscilla
Delineator
McCall's
Ladies Home Journal
Collier's

Out of several thousand pages of popular periodical material, twenty-six proverbs represent a negligible use of the form. Of the twenty-six recorded proverbs seven are used in a humorous periodical which is using them to mildly ridicule their content by providing the stated imagery rather than their symbolic content.

2. An examination of several contemporary American novels provided no single illustration of the use of the proverb in the speech of the characters. Even a novel such as Lewis's *Main Street*, a story of village life, contains no examples of proverbial lore. However, in a single volume (Winter) of L. Reymont's *The Peasants*, there are thirty-seven different proverbs used in the dialogue. This is a novel of contemporary Polish peasant life, chosen to contrast its speech forms to those of the American village as portrayed in novels. These proverbs deal in dogmatic assertions on basic human relationships as follows:

TABLE II

	<i>The Peasants</i>	<i>Illinois Frisian Community</i>
Sex and Family Relationships	3	11
Economic Process	9	8
Social Ethics	10	4
Relationships with Supernatural	5	1
Human Folly	8	8
Rhymed Jargon (Fiddle-de-dee, fiddle-de-dee, one fable and two make three)	1	0
Total.....	37	32

In the column to the right above I have listed a few proverbs collected by a graduate student, Miss F. Corner, who is studying a Frisian farming community in Illinois. In this community the preservation of the patriarchal family is at present a conflict situation and, if not in variety,

at least in frequency of use, the proverbs definitive of family status are expounded by the elders.

3. A record kept by forty-five students over a period of two days of all proverbs heard in conversation, homes, class lectures, boarding houses, etc., provided only 19 proverbs, recorded by 15 students. They are:

TABLE III

1. Early to bed and early to rise. (golf player)
2. Cure the wart and produce a cancer. (speech class)
Better late than never. (farmer)
No news is good news. (conversation)
Make hay while the sun shines. (letter)
3. There's no use crying over spilt milk. (conversation)
4. An apple a day keeps the doctor away. (conversation)
5. You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. (class)
6. Big oaks from little acorns grow. (conversation)
7. Forbidden fruit is always the sweetest. (conversation)
Birds of a feather flock together. (landlady)
8. Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today. (restaurant)
9. Honesty is the best policy. (class)
10. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. (restaurant)
11. A still tongue maketh a wise head. (restaurant)
12. Willful waste makes woeful want. (to cook)
13. A word to the wise is sufficient. (class)
14. It is never too late to mend. (class)
15. It is better to wear out than to rust out. (farmer)

The other thirty came upon no instances of the use of proverbs by anyone during that time.

4. Memory and order of recall may give some indication of the proverbs most generally learned, even though infrequently used. Sixty-eight university students were asked to list all the proverbs they could remember during a thirty minute period.

A total of 1,443 proverbs, an average of 21.2 per student were presented. Of these 442 were different proverbs, some of which appeared a number of times, as indicated:

TABLE IV

<i>No. of Proverbs</i>	<i>Times Mentioned</i>	<i>Proverb</i>
1	47	A stitch in time saves nine.
1	40	A rolling stone gathers no moss.
1	39	A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.
1	37	Early to bed and early to rise, etc.
1	30	Never put off till tomorrow, etc.
1	27	Haste makes waste.
1	26	An apple a day keeps the doctor away.
1	23	All that glitters is not gold.
1	23	Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.
1	21	Laugh and the world laughs with you.
1	21	Birds of a feather flock together.
1	20	There's no fool like an old fool.
1	20	Make hay while the sun shines.
3	17	
2	16	
2	15	
4	14	
1	13	
7	11	
5	10	
3	9	
9	8	
11	7	
4	6	
10	5	
17	4	
26	3	
55	2	
270	1	

CONCLUSION

In spite of the inadequacy of these dabbling samples of material, the selective factor involved in the choice of materials, and the limited groups from which they are chosen, it must be clear that the proverb has largely disappeared from our general communicative culture. Casual observation would likewise verify this assertion. Why has its use

decreased? We may turn first to a brief examination of the nature of the origin, the development and the utility of this language form.

The proverb is a cultural invention. It is not inevitable, but a unique language form appearing in a significant distribution which would indicate that such is the case.³ It has had a widespread distribution both among primitive and advanced people throughout Asia, Europe, and Africa, but few statements that could be classified as proverbs have ever been recorded in the speech or folklore of the American Indians. Nor does this form appear at any given stage of advancement of a people, but rather in any favorable cultural situation into which it is introduced by invention or diffusion. Variations in the presence or absence and quantity of proverbs have been ascribed to racial and temperamental differences, but never with proof which would be convincing to a sociologist.⁴ Peculiarities of language structure and traditional forms of speech no doubt affect the number and type of proverbs created, but the general cultural situation is of an importance requiring emphasis.

When the use of the proverb is a fashionable language form they appear in quantity through accretion. The flowering of proverbs at some periods has been sufficient so that in the records of proverbs developed in Spain, Scotland, Egypt, and Italy the social historian finds valuable clues.⁵ The body of proverbs grows rapidly through emulation of the form. If, as the social anthropologist has sometimes pointed out, myth building is a self-fertilizing process, the attention of the individuals of the group being

³ See A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 196; J. K. Folsom, *Culture and Social Progress*, p. 48; T. DeLaguna, *Factors in Social Evolution*, p. 158.

⁴ T. C. McDonald, *Gaelic Proverbs*. Introduction.

⁵ W. Elmslie, *Studies in Life from Jewish Proverbs*, chap. 1.

turned to the construction and elaboration of myths—then the same process may be applied to proverbs.⁶ As social process it arouses emulation and rivalry among group leaders tending toward the creation of a substantial body of proverbs.

In periods during which a high degree of unanimity in social judgments exists among the potential proverb makers, the group leaders of various kinds, the proverb has considerable utility in social control. It frequently has characteristics of structure which give it a high memory value. Like the slogan, the motto, the rallying cry, and other condensed language forms its success is in part dependent upon just such details. Furthermore, the proverb at such times appears to masses of people as the expression of profound wisdom, a sort of well-rounded, easily tossable truth, of peanut shell proportions. It may occur that "They interfere between husband and wife, parents and children, and teach all of them manners with unsparing frankness. They play with the children, counsel their parents, and dream dreams with the old."⁷ The prevalence of the specific type of proverbs in daily use would thus be indicative in a rough way of the conflict tensions in the social process in which they are used as tools. The relative frequency of the proverbs dealing with the patriarchal dignity of the father which are still used in the Illinois Frisian community, cited previously, provides an illustrative case.

The proverb does not appear to be characteristic of a complex culture under conditions of rapid social change in beliefs dealing with social and supernatural relationships. The forms in existence fall into disuse and the literary, political, and economic leaders provide no new

⁶ A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, p. 412.

⁷ W. Elmslie, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

forms. More transient word forms provide the current phrases. The variety of conflicting social judgments assume a different language form, no less dogmatic probably, but much less permanent. Sentences from popular songs, slang phrases, "smart cracks," items from the cinema, slogans of economic advertising, phrases from the radio, and the like become the coin current in the process of communication.

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH CHINA

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THE RELATIONS of the United States with China can be discussed under two headings: (1) the issues between China and the various powers as a group, of which the United States is one, and consequently our policies in regard thereto; and (2) the policies of the United States in its relations with China which are somewhat peculiar to us and in which we have pursued an independent course. Our point of view in both regards, vis-a-vis China, is subject to change principally as conditions and attitudes in China change. These changes may come more rapidly than many anticipate.

I

The history of the unequal treaties is too well known to require further elaboration. It is the insistent Chinese demand for their revision which commands attention. Tariff autonomy has now been restored. In this the United States led the way in July 1928, and Japan, the last of the powers, finally agreed by formal treaty with the National Government of China for the recognition of autonomy in May 1930 (although Japan's acceptance of such autonomy had been virtually effective since January 31, 1929). A few other issues may be reviewed briefly.

The continued administration of the maritime customs service by an Englishman or foreigner is not a matter specifically and directly affecting American policy except insofar as Chinese Government bonds, secured on the cus-

toms, are owned by Americans; or insofar as the whole problem of debt revision and consolidation, in which American bondholders have an interest is affected by the efficiency in administration of the maritime customs and its general revenue possibilities. America will not be in a position to insist upon the continuance of foreign supervision of the customs even should we desire to do so, since the United States, although indirectly a party to the institution of this control, has not been party to the maintenance thereof or any subsequent agreement specifically stating what its character should be. The moral right of the Chinese to take control of all their internal affairs will weigh heavily in the thinking of Americans as opposed to the legal rights which call for maintenance of foreign supervision until 1943. Certain American loans are, however, affected by a general program of debt consolidation which would have to rest primarily on the customs revenue.

The next issue in the field of the unequal treaties is extraterritoriality, which is at once a live and a dead issue. Theoretically, by the statements made at the conclusion of 1929 the National Government of China, the issue is closed and extraterritoriality is abolished dating from January 1, 1930. Actually and practically this is not so. We are in a period of transition, however, a period of gradual relinquishment of this privilege for our citizens.

We differ slightly from Great Britain in our interpretation of these Chinese pronouncements of 1929, but actually the claims of China to an equal position in the society of nations were granted in principle at the beginning of last year. The fundamental interest of the American government in the restoration to China of complete sovereignty is not to be questioned. With the other leading powers we have been pledged since 1903 to give up these rights as soon as China's legal, juridical and judicial sys-

tem gives substantial assurance of reasonable justice to foreign lives and property. At the Washington conference in 1922 China asked for a definite period of limitation of extraterritoriality, but rather a commission was appointed to investigate. This commission made a complete report in 1926 with the conclusion that conditions in China did not warrant the immediate abolition of extraterritoriality. The Kellogg note of 1927 reiterated the American position. However, the Porter resolution of 1927 requested the President to negotiate new treaties regarding several Chinese issues, among them extraterritoriality, "upon an equitable and reciprocal" basis.

It is not, "Will we abandon extraterritoriality?" The affirmative is admitted by all thoughtful persons. The question is "When?" Has China arrived at the position of being able "to provide protection by law and through her courts to American citizens, their rights and property?" Shall the abandonment be at once and unconditional, or should there be set up a gradual process of relinquishment? The Chinese adhere to the former and America and other powers to the latter position. The increasing strength of the National Government of China, which until the recent Southern defection, was more apparent than for over a year, will undoubtedly speed the process of transition both by sincere internal improvement and by definite diplomatic insistence of the form already familiar in recent years in tariff revision. In the light of present conditions, the American policy is probably wise.

Closely related to extraterritoriality is the question of China's legal right to abrogate certain of the unequal treaties, around which considerable difference of opinion has developed in the negotiations of the last four years. The Sino-American treaty of 1903 will be subject to revision in 1934, but this does not affect extraterritoriality. Amer-

ican rights in the latter are based on the treaties of 1858 and 1880 which contain no clauses calling for revision. It is to be hoped that the commercial treaty to be negotiated next year with China by the United States will reflect continued progress toward the abandonment of unilateral treatment.

The United States does not have a direct relationship to the problem of concessions and settlements. We have none of these. However, we claim an interest in the International Settlement of Shanghai. The municipal council of the settlement has contained American residents of the city. The Kellogg note of February 1927 declared our willingness to be a party to negotiations regarding the future status of the International Settlement.

Further, we have insisted, much to China's resentment, upon our rights, along with the other Powers, to keep gunboats on the Yangtze and to send warships for protection in troubled times. Some American authorities question the interpretations which the foreign powers in China, including the United States, place upon the treaty provisions granting these rights. Particularly in time of peace, should American vessels of war patrol the Yangtze?

With Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Japan, the United States is still theoretically a party to the second Consortium agreement formed in 1920. Will the United States Department of State adhere to the principle of supporting only those loan agreements which may call for a sharing with these nations of all Chinese Government financing? Will we insist upon the fundamental principle of the consortium of cooperation in Chinese finance or will we approve, as Chinese conditions make borrowing by them possible, of single American financing? The unwillingness of the successive Chinese governments since 1920 to recognize the consortium, with its "monopoly of finance"

and its probable tendency to insist upon some form of foreign control, has rendered this agency thus far impotent; and this fact, together with the changing attitude of the United States Government, as well as the thoughtful body of Americans, vis-a-vis China and the policy of cooperation to be pursued, render it unlikely that this agency will be utilized. At least further cooperation in supplying capital to China will probably come about devoid of political and diplomatic intervention. There is no reason why joint action should not be taken by varying groups of foreign bankers as a result of purely financial negotiations. Conceivably foreign governments might under the auspices of the League of Nations or otherwise, guarantee a loan to the Chinese Government, without thereby assuming the return of financial imperialism. Of course, activity by the League of Nations would probably preclude formal participation by the United States but financial institutions here might be included.

II

The policy of the United States as regards China, in addition to the actions above described in which it can be discussed along with the other powers, comprehends historically the fairly consistent insistence of the United States upon the maintenance of the Open Door and the recognition of the territorial and administrative integrity of China. These traditional aspects of Sino-American relations need not be treated in full historical detail since they are too well known. Related to the principle of the "most favored nation" clause of commercial treaties, the American exposition of the Open Door in regard to China, although in less definite form, antedated the Hay notes of 1899 and 1900. The bases of present American policy are really found deeply rooted in early viewpoints and pro-

nouncements. The policy of the United States has increasingly been guided by the desire to encourage China to work out her own destiny without coercion from elsewhere.

Although this statement is true, there has nevertheless been a variance in method at different times. Although fundamentally the same, American policies have found expression sometimes through independent action and sometimes through cooperation with the other powers interested in the Far East, as evidenced by the data presented above. The policy of independent action has been particularly evident in recent years, although cooperative activity has by no means been complete abandoned. Our indication in January 1927 of a willingness "to take up negotiations alone," American refusal to use force in the backing up of the Nanking demands of 1927, thus bringing about a failure of the concert of powers to effect a united plan of action, the Shanghai incident in waiting to take any part in military operations until after the fall of the city, our settlement of the Nanking incident in 1928, the negotiation of the first treaty for tariff autonomy in 1928, thus recognizing the National Government of China, all follow in line with our non-participation in the scramble for concessions in 1896-1898, the Hay notes and the remission of the Boxer indemnity. The policy of the concert of powers, effective earlier in enforcing foreign tutelage and in deferring equality of China in the society of nations, of which we were in some measure a part, has been weakened by many inroads upon it in the twentieth century by special alliances, wars and re-alignments of powers, the separation of Russia, and by the ineffectiveness or only partial success of the financial consortiums, the Washington conference treaties and the conferences resulting therefrom. The policy of the united diplomatic front has gone and the United States has recently been a factor in its going. Foreign tutelage

is past. This does not mean, however, that no phase of foreign cooperation is possible. The United States has shown that it is not only willing but eager to renounce all exceptional rights in China as soon as this may be done with the assurance of adequate protection of American life and property. Cooperation in speeding the accomplishment of these ends, not by outside political or quasi-political intervention, but by other means of helpfulness is the keynote of the thoughtful American position. China is in the throes of great changes with an increasing consciousness of national life. Only voluntarily sought-for activity can be of help. Any other policy will redound to the ultimate disadvantage of foreign economic interests and will complicate the internal problem severely. China must go her own way and we must watch her go, giving only such aid as can be given without offending her increasing sense of equality and her desire for self-determination. The present situation calls for the greatest of tact, of imagination, of diplomacy, and of patience. The success of the Kemmerer financial commission is evidence of the value of these principles.

Granting these premises the American policy as regards China must, however, shortly recognize the inadequacy of the four-power Washington treaty by including therein at least China and the U.S.S.R. Some preliminary understanding should be arrived at between the Soviet Union and at least the other Far Eastern powers. The general relationship of the League of Nations and particularly the Briand-Kellogg Pact to our position in the Far East, in the light of their ineffectiveness in the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute of 1929, should be scrutinized; and the strength of Japanese military and naval power, the latter virtually assured a supremacy in the Far East by the Washington and London conference agreements, should be rec-

ognized. The need for a broadened and perhaps continuously deliberative Pacific or Far-Eastern association replacing the four-power treaty is evident, and it should be the effort of the United States, in her own interests if not for China's, to see this accomplished.

The proposal of a silver loan to China, to be made by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, and any other nations was embodied in a resolution adopted by the United States Senate on February 20, 1931, and forwarded to President Hoover. This loan has been supported by Senator Pittman of Nevada, the inspiration of the idea proceeding from the present low price of silver. With China contemplating an early adoption of the gold exchange standard, with the possibility of a later rise in the price of silver as a result of some international agreement, a silver loan to be repayable by weight and not by gold value would not be in China's interests. Various Chinese journals have been outspoken in opposition to this proposed loan and declare that it has been suggested primarily to help silver rather than to help China. The United States should not push this measure. Rather, we should be willing to participate in an international conference, if called, to discover whether a practicable program for the stabilization of silver can be discovered. This would be in China's interest.

The United States should continue its "Strong China" policy of encouraging the development of unity within China and resisting any foreign diplomatic attempt at a divided China. A strong China to match a strong Japan and a strong Russia will do much to promote international peace in the Far East.

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MOBILITY PATTERNS OF URBAN STRANGERS

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THE WRITTEN record of daily contacts of a young man in two large cities has been found to contain data illustrative of statements made by McKenzie to the effect that mobility differs from simple movement in space, being rather "a change of residence, of employment, or of the location of any utility service."¹ McKenzie's statement is in close agreement with that of Park and Burgess,² and, more lately is supported by Dawson and Gettys.³ While the term "mobility" has different meanings, as evidenced by Sorokin's conception,⁴ and by Anderson's,⁵ even with the latter, who makes mobility mere spatial movement and "social mobility" equivalent to McKenzie's "mobility," the distinction between spatial movement and psychological movement is maintained.

The records to be treated in this paper were especially accurate with regard to distance covered, which we may say is an index of spatial movement of the individual. They also include, however, data on new acquaintances, the amount of time spent with new acquaintances, the amount of distance covered accompanied by intimates, the number of changes in place of residence, and less accurate

¹ R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society* of the 1925 Meeting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 169-70.

² R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 284.

³ C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, *Introduction to Sociology* (New York: Ronald, 1929), pp. 301-302, 305.

⁴ P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harpers, 1927), p. 133.

⁵ Nels Anderson, "The Trends of Urban Sociology," in *Trends in American Sociology* (New York: Harpers, 1929), p. 285.

data as to new eating places. Likewise, it is possible to state what portion of the individual's spatial movements include localities never before visited. Employment remained the same in all cases, since the individual was a college student.

An added advantage, so far as reliability of the individual's behavior is concerned, is the comparative record for two different cities, and hence of two general situations altogether different except for the individual's own purpose and habits of life. No acquaintances in the first situation were carried over into the second. While the data to be presented show a certain amount of agreement, no generalizations for other individuals, for this individual in a city with friends, or for this individual in a city alone, when his purpose is different, are indicated. If the situation were the same, the data seem to indicate a slightly better than average probability that the behavior would conform to the same general pattern.

Table I contains data on thirty-nine days in Chicago, while Table II contains data on 48 days in New York City. In each table columns 1 and 2 represent the number of miles of spatial movement in vehicles and on foot, respectively, while columns 3 and 4 indicate the distance covered when accompanied by intimates, an intimate considered to be a person with whom confidences are exchanged and who is not a complete stranger. In columns 5 and 6 are data on number of miles covered in going to places never visited before. Column 7 includes the number of minutes during each day spent with new acquaintances. Columns 8, 9, and 10 give in order the records of new places of residence, new eating places, and new individuals to whom the student was introduced. The raw data in the tables have been grouped into periods of five days, except for the last grouping in each table,—the purpose being to conserve space.

MOBILITY PATTERNS OF URBAN STRANGERS 547

TABLE I*

Mean of	Miles				Minutes					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1st to 5th days--	20.7	4.0	14.8	2.4	12.3	2.7	45	2	5	15
6th to 10th days--	12.6	3.2	4.0	.6	6.5	1.2	6	0	1	2
11th to 15th days--	.2	3.4	0.0	0.0	.2	.8	0	0	0	0
16th to 20th days--	1.2	4.5	1.2	.3	.6	1.2	0	0	1	0
21st to 25th days--	2.4	6.3	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.5	0	0	0	0
26th to 30th days--	2.7	5.4	0.0	0.0	.1	1.6	2	0	0	1
31st to 35th days--	19.0	6.0	16.0	3.1	3.2	1.1	0	0	2	0
36th to 39th days--	11.5	4.3	0.0	0.0	8.8	.3	90	0	1	5
TOTALS--								2	10	23
MEANS OF TOTALS--	9.5	4.6	4.6	.8	4.0	1.3	15			

* It should be noted that columns 8, 9, and 10 represent raw scores rather than central tendencies.

NOTE: The 31st and 32nd days were spent with the young woman who later was married to the student, while the 38th day was spent with the family of the student's brother-in-law.

TABLE II

Mean of	Miles				Minutes					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1st to 5th days--	18.1	3.5	12.6	1.9	15.5	2.4	132	1	3	11
6th to 10th days--	15.5	2.8	3.4	.6	3.5	1.2	96	1	1	0
11th to 15th days--	24.2	5.0	5.6	.6	10.3	2.7	36	0	1	0
16th to 20th days--	20.4	3.4	1.2	.2	7.8	1.2	60	0	1	2
21st to 25th days--	15.3	3.5	.4	.5	.5	.5	72	0	1	5
26th to 30th days--	15.6	2.8	4.0	.6	1.8	.2	12	0	1	1
31st to 35th days--	14.9	2.5	1.5	.6	1.0	.5	29	0	1	3
36th to 40th days--	20.5	3.1	7.0	1.6	2.7	1.2	2	1	2	1
41st to 45th days--	21.0	3.1	6.5	1.1	.6	.4	6	0	0	1
46th to 48th days--	21.6	3.5	2.3	.3	.3	.6	0	0	0	0
TOTALS--								3	11	24
MEANS OF TOTALS--	18.8	3.3	4.5	.8	4.5	1.1	46.3			

The following conclusions seem justified: 1. The method of keeping diaries and other written accounts of spatial movements, places visited, acquaintances made, and time spent with intimates and acquaintances contain data valuable for the study of mobility and of social mobility.

2. The amount of spatial movement recorded by the individual under consideration is large in proportion to the amount of psychological change in the form of contacts, bearing out the distinction between spatial and psychological change.

3. In Chicago spatial movements decreased to a comparatively small amount after the first ten days, with the exception of the few days mentioned. A similar change is noted in the New York situation, but not before about the twentieth day. This seems to indicate a settling into the "groove of habit." This is borne out by the fact that at about the same time, in each situation, "new places visited" also were reduced to a minimum.

4. On the whole, about one-half of the vehicular travel in Chicago was with intimates and one-seventh of the distance on foot. In New York about 23 per cent of vehicular travel was with intimates while 25 per cent of the distance was on foot.

5. Generally speaking, new places were visited a great deal more with intimates than with strangers, and somewhat more than when alone.

6. The amount of time spent with new acquaintances was small, as was the number of acquaintances, the latter, on the whole being grouped within the first few days of the period in each city.

7. Little mobility of eating arrangements is shown. That which occurs agrees somewhat with change of residence, but with a large amount of variability.

8. There is a rather large amount of consistency of pattern in the behavior of the individual as shown by all of the categories, with the exception of total distance traveled each day. The discrepancy here is due largely to the fact that the student in New York resided after the first week at least five miles from the university, although closer to means of transportation than in Chicago.

9. While the data included are limited in various ways, every indication is that studies of more individuals in these situations, and in others, would add interesting facts. For example, the social mobility of an individual in a small town might be expected to be small, while the amount of spatial movement with intimates might be expected to be larger than in the data here presented.

STATEMENTS AS OPINION INDICATORS

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PUBLIC OPINION cannot be measured directly. An individual can observe the changes or stability of his opinion on a certain topic without using a means of observation. The opinions of a group of individuals, however, cannot be inspected without the help of a symbol. The symbol serves the purpose of mediating the group opinions to the investigator. It also allows a comparison of an individual's opinion with the opinion of another individual which is an essential characteristic of measurement. A symbol mediating an opinion may be called an opinion indicator.

Several opinion indicators may be distinguished, such as a number on a line, a word, a phrase, or a verbal statement. 'A number on a line' has been used in rating scales, so has a word or a phrase. The latter two have also been used in the ranking method and the method of paired comparison. However, the verbal statement is the most widely used indicator of opinion. It, of course, can hardly be used in the rating method and the method of paired comparison; but nearly every investigator using the questionnaire method, the ranking method, and the method of equal-appearing intervals has employed statements to represent the opinions in question.

There is some disagreement among writers interested in attitude measurement as to whether the statements do represent attitudes. Statement for some seems to be too far removed from the deep seated dispositions to act. A verbal symbol according to these writers does not necessarily indi-

cate what the actual disposition of a person is toward a certain issue or what the subsequent action will be. On the contrary, there is almost unanimous agreement between writers that statements do represent opinions, the more changeable and perhaps more rational sentiments. The writers would admit at the same time that in spite of the changeability and superficiality of an opinion it is very effective in influencing public affairs.

Upon an examination of a number of experiments the writer found that verbal statements are very indiscriminately used by the various investigators in this field. Insufficient care is exercised in preparing and selecting the statements. No distinction is made between the various forms of statements. Several forms of statements are used in a single measuring instrument disproportionately. As an example of the indiscriminate use of statements we will examine a scale recently constructed by Thurstone¹ for measuring attitude toward the movies. The scale consists of seven different forms of statements. Out of the 40 statements that constitute the scale 25 statements indicate the general function of the movies. Six statements are of the personal function type. Three statements are in the personal general function form, and three statements in the personal conduct form. One statement is causal, one is a personal general statement, and one is of the 'should be done' type. All of Chave's² 45 statements about the church are in the personal form but one. The personal forms in his scale may be subdivided into several forms, such as the general function form, the general statement form, the conduct form, and the personal function form.

¹ L. L. Thurstone, "A Scale for Measuring Attitude toward the Movies," *Journal of Educational Research*, 22 (1930), 89.

² E. J. Chave, "A New Type of Scale for Measuring Attitudes," *Rel. Educ.*, 23 (1928), 364.

Vetter's ³180 statements with a few exceptions are practically all in the 'what should be done' form. The writer's scale⁴ is not different in this respect from other statement scales because it was constructed before he ever thought of the advisability of discriminating between the different forms of statements.

The objection that statements do not represent continuous degrees of opinion even if scaled, and that such scales are not unidimensional, but at least bidimensional, is partly due to a lack of uniformity in the forms of statements used in scaling. Each form of statements represents a different trend of opinion and, therefore, it can be argued that a scale has as many dimensions, as many forms as are represented by the statements in the scale. If only one form is used throughout, the chances for its being a multidimensional scale are greatly diminished.

An analysis of the various forms of statements will be given below. A number of samples will be taken from current literature to illustrate the forms. The selection is rather arbitrary, being guided largely by the types of statements employed by the writers. Although our analysis will, on the whole, be made from the point of view of scaling, the illustrative samples will not only be taken from scales, but also from other instruments of measurement using statements as opinion indicators.

The forms of statements may be divided into three major groups: the impersonal form, the personal form, and the question form. By 'impersonal' is meant a statement in which no pronoun is used or if it is used it does not appear in the singular first person. A 'personal' statement is one

³ G. B. Vetter, "The Measurement of Social and Political Attitudes and the Related Personality Factors," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 25 (1930), 149.

⁴ D. D. Droba, "A Scale of Militarism-Pacifism," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 22 (1931), 96-111.

in which a pronoun is used singularly in the first person. By a 'question' form is meant a statement with an interrogation point. Each of these three main divisions can be subdivided into several forms.

The impersonal form may be subdivided into the following forms: the general, the causal, the functional, and the 'should be done' form. By a general form is meant one in which no specific reference is made to causes, functions, or conduct. "If one really loves his own country he will not love other countries,"⁵ and "Japan's attitude in her relation with the United States in the last five years has been finer than our attitude toward her,"⁶ are samples of general statements with an element of comparison in them. "It is impossible for the world to become one great society,"⁷ and "There is no conceivable justification for war,"⁸ are purely general statements. A statement of this type is probably the farthest removed from an indication of what the individual would actually do. The use of such statements should, therefore, be discouraged.

Causal statements include a reference to the cause of the issue in question: e.g., "The most frequent cause of war is the rivalry of nations for possession of territory, markets, concessions, and spheres of influence." Statements of this type probably cannot be used alone for constructing a scale. A statement of cause does not have a very direct bearing upon the unfavorable or favorable opinion of the person endorsing it. But they can be used to express the medium position.

⁵ G. B. Neumann, "A Study of International Attitude of High School Students," *Teachers College Contr.*, No. 239, 1926.

⁶ G. B. Watson, "Occident and Orient: An Opinion Study," *Rel. Educ.*, 24, (1929), 322.

⁷ L. D. Zeleny, "A Measure of Social Opinions of Students," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 11 (1926-27), 56.

⁸ Droba, *loc. cit.*

A statement in the function form is one expressing something about the function of the issue or object of opinion. In the statement, "The League of Nations is the best possible solution of world problems, and absolutely prevents future wars,"⁹ the 'absolutely prevents future wars' is the function of the League of Nations. This is one of the two most frequently used forms of statements. All degrees of opinion can be expressed by it. A statement of the function of the object of an opinion is at the same time a statement of the reason of the opinion. In the statement, "War takes only the most physically fit, and thus results in national suicide of manpower," the reason for the opinion expressed is that war results in national suicide of manpower.

The fourth form refers to statements as to what should be done about the object of opinion. Examples of this form are: "We should observe and teach complete chastity in sex outside of wedlock," and, "Compulsory education should extend to four years of secondary or vocational school, adapted to the child's capacities."¹⁰ This is the other form of the two most frequently used forms in opinion measurement. Statements of 'what should be done' seem to be more directly related to conduct than any of the above three forms.

The second main division of statements, the personal form, may be subdivided as follows: general form, causal form, general function form, specific function form, 'should be done' form, and the conduct form. The personal forms were not used as frequently as the impersonal forms; our quotations will, therefore, be confined to fewer authors. In case the statements had to be modified to fit the form,

⁹ F. H. Allport and D. A. Hartman, "The Measurement and Motivation of Atypical Opinion in a Certain Group," *Amer. Political Science Rev.*, 19 (1925), 735.

¹⁰ Vetter, *loc. cit.*

no reference is given. Statements falling under this general division are very similar to the ones cited above and will be passed by with fewer comments.

The general form may be exemplified by the following statement: "I believe in what the church teaches but with mental reservations."¹¹ The causal form is illustrated by: "In my opinion the modern wars have been caused largely by diplomats who have played with human lives as pawns in a game of chess." The following statement is in the general function form: "I feel that church attendance is a fair index of the nation's morality."¹²

The statement, "Moving pictures bore me,"¹³ is an illustration of the specific function form. This function form is mentioned here for the first time. Obviously, it does not have a corresponding form under the impersonal division. The 'should be done' form may be exemplified in the following statement: "I believe that for the liberty of oppressed nations wars should be fought."

Another addition in this division is the conduct form. It refers to the conduct of the individual endorsing the statement: e.g., "According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as class, and not the best I have known, nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications under which I have placed a cross (X) to close kinship by marriage, to my club as personal chums, etc."¹⁴ In this statement the endorser is given a chance to indicate what he would do to races such as Canadians, Czechoslovaks, and Germans. The statement, "I like to see movies once in a while but they do dis-

¹¹ Chave, *loc. cit.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Thurstone, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ E. S. Bogardus, "Measuring Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9 (1924-25), 299

appoint you sometimes,"¹⁵ although it has the element of function in it, also tells that the endorser goes to movies once in a while. An opinion about the church is expressed by reference to conduct in the following statement: "I believe in religion but I seldom go to church."¹⁶

The question form is not used much, and never in scaling. The following sample is taken from Moore's questionnaire: "Do you believe in the principle of a minimum wage for workers?"¹⁷ The question form division may be subdivided into several subforms, similar to the ones used in the two preceding divisions, such as general form, function form, and the 'should be done' form. General forms are such as, "How long do you expect to live?"¹⁸ or, "Do you favor any form of trial marriage?"¹⁹ The 'should be done' form is exemplified in the following statement: "Do you favor the early entrance of the United States into the League of Nations?"²⁰ Other forms may be devised, such as: "Does prohibition raise the morale of the nation?" in the function form, and: "Would you be glad to fight on the battlefield if your country would ask you to?" in the conduct form.

The question form is probably not an appropriate form for scaling. It does not represent the opinion as well as the non-question forms. The weight of the opinion lies in the response rather than in the question. Suppose a person answers "Yes," that word is the center of his opin-

¹⁵ Thurstone, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Chave, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ H. T. Moore, "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 20 (1925-26), 234.

¹⁸ Herbert T. Jasper, "Optimism and Pessimism in College Environments," *American Journal Sociology*, 34 (1928-29), 856.

¹⁹ R. R. Willoughby, "A Sampling of Student Opinion," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1 (1930), 164.

²⁰ Moore, *loc. cit.*

ion. In the non-question form the center of the opinion is in the statement itself. The statement, rather than the answer, is his opinion. An advantage of the question form is that it stimulates more than the non-question form to reveal a spontaneous and a genuine opinion.

Three major types of indicators were discussed in this paper: the impersonal type, the personal type, and the question type. Each of these types can be subdivided into various forms, such as the general form, the function form, and the conduct form. Most investigators made no distinction between the above forms. Two or more have been used to obtain a composite score. However, it is very likely that reliability of a scale would vary with the form of statements, or at least with the degree of uniformity in the use of the forms. Statements of function of the issue or statements of what should be done, are probably more reliable indicators of what the endorser would do than the general form of statements. The personal conduct form would probably be the best indicator of what the individual would do.

It would be of value to construct several scales on the same issue using different forms of verbal symbols for each. The scores on such scales could be compared as to reliability and validity. Until this is done, some of the assertions made above about the value of the forms of statements and their combinations will naturally remain incomplete.

MEXICO LOOKS AT THE UNITED STATES

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It is most difficult, indeed, to tell what Mexico sees when she looks at the United States, for as she glances across the border, she sees with a great many eyes. It is very much like the story of the four blind men who went to see an elephant. The first one stepped forward, touched the animal's tail and said: "The elephant is very much like a rope." The second touched one of its legs and remarked: "No, the elephant is like a tree." The third blind man felt of the animal's trunk and said: "It seems to me that the elephant is very much like a snake." And then the last blind man stretched his arms out before him and touched one of the animal's ears and remarked: "You are all mistaken, the elephant is just exactly like a leaf."

The people of Mexico have touched the American elephant (I don't mean the Republican elephant) and have arrived at varying and divergent views and opinions concerning it. *Our opinions are always based on our knowledge and experience and when we possess but meagre facts, our judgment cannot help but be biased.* The common conception that Americans have regarding the Mexican is that of an unkempt, uncouth, ill-visaged bandit wearing a big "sombrero" and having a gun or knife hid away on his person ready for mischief. This conception came probably from the ever-present Mexican villain in the moving picture shows and in the cowboy adventure stories. The Scotch and Irish occupy positions of prominence in American jokes but the role of the villain has been reserved for

the Mexican. It is no wonder that any fair-faced and intelligent Mexican encounters general incredulity when he announces his nationality.

Bitter experiences tend to warp our judgment. I know a woman who hates all men. "They're all alike," she says, "they're just as mean as they can be." And the reason for her general hatred of the stronger sex is that she had a bitter experience with *one* man. Similarly, some Mexicans are strongly prejudiced against the people of the United States in general merely because they have had some bitter experience with only one American. I would not want to ask such a Mexican for his opinion of the American people for it would be unjustly and unfavorably biased. I would not want to express my personal opinion as being the general Mexican viewpoint, for fortunately, I have come in contact with only the better types of Americans—educators, social workers, and ministers—and my personal attitude would therefore be biased the other way. To procure the opinion of several Mexicans representing a fair cross section of the nationality would be an interesting thing, I thought, and I therefore acted accordingly. I interviewed over 30 Mexicans of different walks of life—ministers, doctors, lawyers, mechanics, artisans, day laborers—and condensed their several viewpoints into thirteen statements. These thirteen opinions follow, without changing the original expression or mincing words:

1. The American people are commercial giants; they have extended their trade enterprises into the furthestmost corners of the world.

2. The people of the United States worship the Almighty Dollar; they are all seeking ways and means of getting rich, and it seems that their only interest in life consists in the accumulation of wealth.

3. The United States enjoys the highest civilization ever recorded in history; absolutely the most advanced people ever known in the world live within the boundaries of that country.

4. They are greedy and grasping; they knew there was gold in California, and when we would not sell the territory to them they took it away from us. Lincoln said of the Mexican War that it was "the most shameful war ever forced by a strong nation upon a weaker one." American capitalists go to Mexico and other countries trying to get all they can out of these lands, leaving nothing but a small tax in return. The United States bullies small Latin-American countries and thus makes a farce of the Monroe Doctrine. Yes, these financial leeches are conquering the world with stocks and bonds!

5. They are most practical, excelling in science and invention and generally in most everything.

6. The Americans are lovers of pleasure; their morals are going downhill at a frightful pace, because of their love of night life and jazz.

7. The people of the United States are a kindly nation, seeking to uplift and to help the downtrodden of all the world. They are the world's humanitarians and philanthropists.

8. The people of that country are decidedly snobbish, overbearing, and presumptuous; they look down upon the people of every other nationality; they seem to have developed what some people call a "Superiority Complex." They preach much about Brotherhood yet they show more racial prejudice than any other nation on the face of the world.

9. I know that there are many Mexicans that "knock" at the Americans but I think it is purely a case of "sour grapes," because we know they are better than we are.

Why, just stop and think, almost everyone of them knows how to read and write!

10. They send missionaries to foreign lands when they need plenty of converting at home. They ask when we are going to get rid of our bandits in Mexico, yet they do not tell us when they will get rid of their bandits in Chicago.

11. They are the poorest linguists in the world yet they think a man who does not speak English correctly is very much devoid of intelligence.

12. They get angry because Mexicans don't become American citizens. Say, have you ever heard of an American becoming a Mexican citizen?

13. Do you know, it is strange, but when I came here 15 years ago I did not like the Americans at all, but now that I have learned to understand them I find that I like them; they are so kind and so frank. Isn't it strange that we should dislike people merely because we fail to understand them?

And I thought that surely good old Mr. Alvarado, gray-haired and wrinkled-faced, who expressed this last opinion, struck the keynote of the whole thing. All of the other attitudes were one-sided viewpoints; they had seen one phase of American life and had jumped to the conclusion that all of the Americans were just that way.

So the problem of international relations resolves itself to this: *To evolve plans by which the peoples of the several nations may learn to understand each other better.*

SOCIAL WELFARE PROJECTS AND THE CITY

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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A SOMEWHAT remarkable contest came to a close February 15, 1931. At that time a total of 249 social welfare projects had been submitted for the improvement of social conditions in Los Angeles and environs. The particular stimulus for these 249 efforts came from a public minded citizen of Los Angeles who desired suggestions for the spending of \$18,000 a year over a term of years in meeting some human need not now cared for through the Community Welfare Association and other private philanthropies or through the Department of Public Welfare.

The 249 projects constitute a composite picture of what the contestants judge to be the urgent needs of a metropolitan area. They point to present gaps in social work. Although private and public welfare work now spend approximately \$10,000,000 in the area concerned, there are many unmet needs. Agencies and individuals alike are rarely able to get and keep a complete picture of the total social situation in mind, and so they make their gifts and render help in the light of partial, incomplete data. It is difficult for anyone to see a large metropolitan area as a whole or for such an area to plan wisely for itself.

Each of the 249 proposals points out what the respective contestant feels is an outstanding need. Each contestant naturally submits a plan in which he is deeply interested and which he is well qualified to outline. In about equal number the contestants represent established welfare agencies and persons independent of such institutions. The

former present needs that their respective agencies are not able to meet through lack of funds. The latter speak for what they have long considered basic social wants but have not been able single-handed to do anything about.

The projects are either specific, well defined, and carefully supported by scientifically derived data, or general, broad, and buttressed by deep earnestness. The latter urge as a rule either an economic or a moral and religious rebirth. In the main they are protests against present economic and social conditions. They constitute a serious indictment of our present economic and social order. These protests are not to be treated lightly or condemned; the protestants are not to be jeered at or jailed unless one wishes to further communism or some other substitute for what we now have. All who are nettled by these criticisms of American society will, if they are wise, set themselves to correcting even at a sacrifice of personal power the evils that are causing tremors in our Ship of State. To condemn the critics and to do nothing about correcting current evils will multiply the general dissatisfaction.

Thirty-six of the 249 projects received either a prize or honorable mention.¹ These will now be classified and briefly noted.

1. Specific plans to meet the *unemployment* situation naturally led off numerically. Many interesting projects were submitted which relate to the relief and prevention of unemployment. Special attention is given to those persons past forty years of age who are out of work, to the unskilled, to the clerical, to the blind, to those first thrown

¹ The judges of the Social Service Prize Contest were Dr. George M. Day, Occidental College, Mr. Harry F. Henderson, Executive Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, Los Angeles, Dr. George B. Mangold, University of Southern California, Mrs. Charles F. Richmond, Los Angeles Social Service Commission (municipal), and Judge Robert H. Scott, Superior Court of Los Angeles County. No judge voted on any project which was submitted from the institution of which he is a major officer. In such cases the verdicts of the other four judges were accepted.

out of employment when a crisis comes. Related plans are those for making small loans to the financially troubled in order "to tide them over," to help them "keep their homes," or to secure education and training while unemployed. Help is planned so that the unskilled may become skilled, and so that the poorly skilled may become more efficient. In general, these projects would help the lowest occupational groups to move up the occupational scale.² Some of the projects point to the need for making social changes that will prevent new employment depressions from coming upon the world, that will prevent overspeculation, overproduction, supertariffs, undue concentrations of wealth, and the like.

2. *Child Welfare* projects broke into the prize winning class. Procedures were submitted for keeping the city child constructively busy, particularly the underprivileged child.³ Provisions are suggested for the sick child, the physically handicapped child, for the immigrant child. Year around programs are advanced.

One of the two projects that were tied for first honors and for the first prize of \$500 was a carefully worked out procedure for meeting the needs of boys in a district where there are 9,000 boys whose leisure time is unorganized and where boys' gangs are hatching out pranks to plague the whole metropolitan area.⁴ A Child Welfare Clinic is the subject of the project that received the second prize of \$250. It aims to help solve the problems of young children, view-

² As suggested several years ago by Professor Thomas N. Carver of Harvard University, Dr. Carver's solution for poverty was to educate the unskilled classes into the skilled levels. (*Essays in Social Justice*, Harvard University Press, 1915, Ch. XIV, "The Cure for Poverty.")

³ The overprivileged child is also in need at this point, but it is assumed that means and wealth are at hand, which if properly used will extricate the overprivileged from his dilemma.

⁴ This project was submitted by Lloyd G. Thomas of the Young Men's Christian Association staff and relates to the Belvedere-Huntington Park area.

ing each problem in relation to the whole life situation of each child.⁵ A somewhat related project which received honorable mention, provides for a Child Welfare Treatment Service, as a supplement to the three child welfare clinics in operation in the city.⁶ The treatment service is to supplement the diagnosis work that is now receiving a splendid emphasis. Another honorable mention project suggests a foundation for the Study and Treatment of Problem Children, with foster home care—a need that is illustrated by “our astonishing overuse of the Juvenile Court.”⁷ A child guidance clinic is projected for Santa Monica, California.⁸ A home for homeless boys from 16 to 18 years of age is planned, with the boys paying if working; if not, they are to “work out” their room and board.⁹ A boys’ work program is outlined as a new development of the International Institute of Los Angeles.¹⁰ A swimming pool staff with a comprehensive activity program is projected for the All Nations Foundation area.¹¹ Special phases of child welfare work are to be provided by An East Side Boys Lodge as a home for maladjusted Negro boys under Urban League auspices.¹² A Training and Industrial Home for Girls of high-grade and feeble-minded types, 14 to 21 years old is submitted as a real need.¹³ Another welfare plan for youth is educational; it would enable 35 worthy high school graduates to be selected each year from

⁵ Submitted by Robert A. McKibben for the All Nations Foundation area.

⁶ Developed by Joseph Bonaparte.

⁷ Worked out as a special Children’s Protective Association project by Eileen Williams.

⁸ Submitted by Robert W. Sturges, Santa Monica, California.

⁹ By William T. Porter of the County Probation Officer’s staff.

¹⁰ By Gretchen Tuthill of the International Institute.

¹¹ By Charles S. Thompson of the All Nations Staff.

¹² From Lester B. Granger of the Urban League.

¹³ By Emily Heitman of the County Probation Staff.

the high schools of Los Angeles to attend college as freshmen on a \$500 scholarship each.¹⁴

Paralleling needed child welfare work is a well thought out plan for parental education under the title of the Los Angeles Council of Parent Education, with study groups for parents, teachers, with weekly lectures and conferences, with a special library.¹⁵ Another proposal is a home for unmarried mothers, which will render aid to mother and child during the former's most trying time of readjustment,¹⁶ under the auspices of the Children's Home Finding Society of California.

3. A third group of projects is headed by a plan that tied for the first prize of \$500, namely, an elaborately developed *Personnel Counseling Service*, equipped to furnish counsel to something like 10,000 older boys and men during a five year period. It would help these persons solve their social adjustment problems. It would develop and perfect counselling techniques.¹⁷ A young business and industrial girls' center in the heart of the city's business district would be of untold assistance to increasing numbers of young women in making their adjustments to city life at its busiest and harshest points.¹⁸ Another project to place high was A Bureau of Personnel Service for the purpose of determining professional standards of personnel procedure, of raising community standards of personnel work, and of meeting unemployment permanently.¹⁹

A Counseling and Guidance Clinic for the better class of people, for those suffering from the ordinary but serious

¹⁴ A plan developed by Burton E. Davis.

¹⁵ From Frances and Meyer Nimkoff.

¹⁶ By Charles E. Richards.

¹⁷ From J. Gustav White of the staff of the Young Men's Christian Association.

¹⁸ A project submitted by the Misses Edith Stanton and Mary Buchtel of the Young Women's Christian Association and receiving second honorable mention.

¹⁹ From Winifred Hausam and Helen G. Fisk of the Bureau of Vocational Service.

worries of life, and for those in danger of developing psychoses is proposed.²⁰ A plan for an Immigrant Social Welfare Center would provide for social, educational, and dramatic activities, for social contacts, for the study of immigrant problems and for solving these—a demonstration center.²¹ A welfare organization for prisoners is projected that would educate and rehabilitate prisoners and help them to become readjusted.²²

4. Projects relating to *health services* are numerous. They are headed by the winner of the third prize of \$100 who gives plans for A Medical Social Service Research Center that would feature an intensive development of medical social case work for the purpose of preventing diseases in the home.²³ "Health like charity begins at home." An Economic Adjustment Bureau for the Tuberculous would develop full-time and part-time employment opportunities for adults suffering from tuberculosis.²⁴ Another project would care for pre-school children under four who are victims of tuberculosis.²⁵ A visiting nurse project would furnish skilled nursing service to self-respecting middle-class people in their homes, including part-time service, with the remuneration to be adjusted.²⁶ A sanatorium and convalescent home would care at low rates for the sick who cannot afford to stay in a hospital.²⁷

The physically and mentally handicapped are to receive special attention from An Employment and Guidance

²⁰ By Crawford Trotter, Banning, California.

²¹ Submitted by Dr. Constantine Panunzio of San Diego.

²² By J. M. Aubrey and F. H. Ballinger.

²³ From Dr. J. L. Pomeroy.

²⁴ From Edna L. Hedenberg.

²⁵ From Angelina Ruggie.

²⁶ By Ruth W. Hay, Long Beach, California.

²⁷ By Helen E. Bruneau.

Center for the Handicapped, that would be a clearing house for all handicapped people and that would provide social and vocational adjustment.²⁸ An Arts and Crafts League for the Handicapped would offer occupational therapy training and give special attention to mental illness resulting from being handicapped.²⁹

5. *Social research* projects climaxed the contest. They constitute a fundamental social service, for they give a sound foundation to all specific service projects. The third honorable mention project was labeled a Social Welfare Research Bureau; it aims to analyze social welfare activities as such, to study social trends and needs, to develop techniques that will most effectively meet social welfare problems, and to make socio-economic analyses of provisions for social improvement.³⁰

Related is the Bureau of Municipal Research for purposes of research and of educational publicity along social welfare, housing, industrial relations, health, city planning, legislative lines.³¹

An Institute of Community Service would create training courses for volunteer social workers, provide consultation service so that individuals may effectively serve their community, and do research work as a basis for social welfare enterprises.³²

There is the Social Research and Reference Bureau designed to carry forward research work for the field of social welfare in Los Angeles and to cooperate with the welfare agencies in giving expert counsel.³³

²⁸ By H. D. Hicker.

²⁹ By Beth McLeod, Pomona, California.

³⁰ Developed by Willis W. Clark.

³¹ From John Steven.

³² Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan, accorded first honorable mention.

³³ From Mrs. Elizabeth McManus.

A Bureau of Philanthropic Research is to gather and disseminate information on philanthropic tendencies and undertakings and to develop a group of "consulting engineers" in social work.³⁴ A Social Research Fund provides resources to study whatever social problems are uppermost in Los Angeles each year and to inform the welfare agencies and the public of the results so that they may act wisely.³⁵ A system of Social Welfare and Research Fellowships will provide six research fellowships each year in perpetuity whereby competent investigators may be appointed from year to year for the study of social conditions in Los Angeles and for the distribution of the findings.³⁶ A Social Service Digest is contemplated which would select materials from the social science journals and re-write them so that the public can read and be kept informed.³⁷ An Institute for the Study of Negro Life in Los Angeles is to have three service departments in helping Negroes in terms of economic conditions, health, and citizenship.³⁸ A Foundation for Character Research and Education is to study the factors which build moral attributes in personality.³⁹

The four prize winning and the thirty-two honorable mention projects have now been presented. There were others of high order, but most of these fell within the five welfare fields that have been already noted.

Instead of one public-minded citizen such as the patron saint of the Contest, at least fifty such persons to sponsor fifty of the 249 projects are needed. There would be no

³⁴ From Robert J. Bernard, Claremont, California.

³⁵ From Chester A. Taft.

³⁶ From Mildred Davidson.

³⁷ From Carl D. Wells.

³⁸ From J. McFarlane Ervin.

³⁹ Submitted by Kenneth S. Bean, La Canada, California.

difficulty in selecting at least fifty specific needs which donors could make no mistake in meeting. Such a group of fifty projects constitute an adequate basis for establishing a *donor's counselling service* in Los Angeles. Such a bureau would enable people of means to contribute large or small sums far more intelligently than is now the case.

The prize winning and honorable mention projects may now be summarized in terms of services to be rendered:

1. Unemployment services
2. Child welfare services
3. Personal counselling services
4. Health services
5. Research services

A further examination of the projects shows (1) that little demand is made for money for direct use, for groceries, rent, and the like. An exception is money for loans to help people over crises and to save their homes. (2) Major attention is directed to people to help themselves to secure better training, to overcome environmental obstacles. Money is to go very largely to salaries for personnel workers, social case workers, social group workers, and social research workers. All other factors are kept at a minimum. (3) Money is needed to train workers who will stimulate personality growth, personality reorganization, and personal creativeness. (4) Social institutions are to be made over and social and economic conditions are to be improved. (5) Social research is extensively presented as the basic social service.

Book Notes

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.
The Century Company, New York, 1930, pp. xix+592.

In this attractive volume Professor Ross gives renewed expression to traits that have given him such high eminence among sociologists. Among these are his insatiable appetite for facts, his direct and scintillating style, his extraordinary ability for handling general truths in vividly concrete form, his frank willingness to relinquish his own outgrown ideas, to grow along with other workers in the field, and to appreciate their contributions.

These traits are exemplified in this new edition of his basic textbook by the "junking of the instinct psychology," the elimination of the earlier chapter on "the race factor," and the substitution of an excellent one entitled "Culture."

This new edition opens with a set of five chapters on "The Social Population," as before, although these, like all the rest of the book, are re-written and thoroughly overhauled. It is a matter for satisfaction that he retains his studies of *population* intact, inasmuch as in this field of research Ross probably enjoys first place among American sociologists, and at least is second to none.

His discussions of *social processes* constitute another outstanding contribution in this, as in the original edition. Some changes of title have been made, and the list is altered and rearranged, but the essential point of view remains unchanged. Likewise with the method of treatment, which is to neglect the abstract discussion of categories, and to pack the chapters with concrete examples drawn even more exclusively from contemporary societies.

Professor Ross has been especially influenced by the recent advance in the culture-concept sociology and by Sorokin's work on "social mobility."

In style and get up the book is attractive, it is generously illustrated with graphs and diagrams, and will doubtless receive the wide adoptions that it deserves. Of extraordinary, even unique, importance is the Dedication, to "the good people of Wisconsin, who maintain a noble university wherein scholars in the social sciences have been

protected in the same freedom of teaching and liberty of utterance that is enjoyed by their colleagues in the natural sciences."

After such a dedication the reader should expect a volume which declares essential sociological facts and truths with both fearlessness and fairness, and in this volume he will not meet with disappointment.

C. M. C.

THE SECOND TWENTY YEARS AT HULLHOUSE (September, 1909, to September, 1929). By JANE ADDAMS. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930, pp. xiii+413.

In 1910 Jane Addams published her well-known *Twenty Years at Hull House*. In the Preface to this early volume she wrote: "Many times in writing these reminiscences, I have become convinced that the task was undertaken all too soon."

Her new volume, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House*, reflects the seasoned ideals of a veteran reformer in a way that at least the author feels her earlier book did not. One finds here the same refreshing idealism which pervades the earlier five books of this dauntless champion of reform movements. But the center of action is no longer at Hull House. Indeed, Hull House is seldom mentioned, and in the place of those captivating stories of the struggles of Chicago's underprivileged which adorned the pages of her earlier writings, the author tells her intimate and often thrilling experiences on the wider-flung battlefield of lecture tours, peace conferences, promotion of the Woman's Movement, prohibition, immigration policies, criminal justice, and wholesome recreation.

Only two of the chapters center distinctly around Hull House. One describes the art and recreational activities at Hull House in the last 20 years; the other tells the weird story of the Devil Baby at Hull House, which was previously described in her volume entitled *The Long Road of Woman's Memory*.

One has a feeling when reading this book that the author has outgrown not only Hull House but the whole settlement movement as she battles the evils of this social order in her maturer years. Perhaps some such title as "Reminiscences of a Woman Reformer" would have fit the contents of the book better than its present title.

C. D. W.

THE FAMILY. By E. N. REUTER and J. R. RUNNER. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931, pp. x+615.

According to the editors this book "is designed to focus attention upon the essential values and processes rather than upon family decadence, divorce, and other trivial or irrelevant matters." "The organization falls into two main divisions: the account of the behavior which has resulted in certain institutional family forms and development under the conditions of the past; and an account of the nature of human beings from which this activity arises."

This book really consists of selections from the writings of nearly one hundred different authors presenting a great variety of points of view. These selections indicate attitudes and interpretations and some also contain much factual material. On the whole they represent a remarkable review of thought and research in respect to the family and the relation of its members to the society both of the past and the present.

The chapters deal with such subjects as "The Family in Transition," "History of the Family," "History of Marriage," "Types of Family Organization," "Interpretations of Human Behavior," "Sex and Morality," "Family Life and the Development of Personality," "The Family and the Economic Order," "The Status of Women," "Birth Control and Forms of Family Disorganization." The chapters are introduced with a page or two of discussion by the authors; otherwise each selection speaks for itself. The positions of the authors are to some extent revealed in the choice of subject matter and occasionally in direct comment. Much of the material presented is illuminated with brief case histories intended to illustrate steps in the evolution of the family.

The usefulness of the book as a text will depend upon the readiness of college instructors to place before their students statements by the authors such as the following: "Sex intimacy is in no way different from other expressions of friendship. It is an expression of mutual affection and requires no other sanction." Similar in tone is the following quotation from one of the contributors: "all sex intercourse should spring from the free impulses of both parties based upon mutual inclination and nothing else."

In dealing with the problem of personality the authors present many viewpoints. Among them are those of the psychoanalyst, the behaviorist, and the sociologist. A special phase of this subject con-

sists of the discussions of the interaction of parent and child. Family limitation receives considerable attention and one article holds up conditions prefatory to childbearing which, if followed, would soon solve the problem of overpopulation.

There is an excellent working bibliography connected with each chapter.

G. B. M.

CULTURE AND PROGRESS. By WILSON D. WALLIS. Whittlesey House, of the McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1930, pp. xii+503.

This work consists of three parts: I. Culture and Culture Change; II. Theories of Progress; III. The Criteria of Progress. The treatment of culture areas and traits, diffusion, etc., is essentially anthropological, and of particular interest is the criticism of so-called "principles" resorted to by a number of noted anthropologists in lieu of a genuinely historical method. Theories of progress have been recounted by several other writers, such as Bury, Todd, and Hertzler, but it seems refreshing to read Wallis's presentation. The criteria of progress are founded primarily on the different aspects of the value of culture to man and society.

The book stresses the interdependence of culture traits and culture areas. The value of culture is tested by the extent to which it enriches individual existence, and the test of the individual is, in turn, the extent to which he utilizes the potentialities of culture and personality. Wallis points out that progress consists in harmonizing rather than in achieving complete harmony. But how measure progress? He probably would answer, as is stated in his conclusion, "The measure of man's cooperation with man in the conquest of nature and of human nature, and in the building of a more satisfying culture, is the measure of progress."

Many treatises on the concepts culture and progress are extant, some of them weak because of vague generalization. However, Wallis's book is a welcome contribution because, although much of the content is not new, there is assembled a wealth of data from an unhackneyed angle, that of the anthropologist. Furthermore, the subject has been handled as if very much alive, and the exposition is delightful, interesting and stimulating. For each chapter, a comprehensive list of source materials is given in place of the usual bibliography.

J. E. N.

CASE STUDIES OF UNEMPLOYMENT. Compiled by the Unemployment Committee of the National Federation of Settlements. Edited by MARION ELDERTON. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1931, pp. xix+418.

"If the industrial neighborhoods of America did to the industrial establishments of America as they are done by, we should have a Coxey's army of business men marching on Washington." This sentence, written by Paul U. Kellogg in the foreword of this sociologically important volume, is a significant indictment of American industrialism and its neglect of the human factor. In a sense, it strikes the theme song of Unemployment—unemployment is distinctly of modern and human contrivance, and it is not the contrivance of the employee.

In the book are gathered the stories of one hundred and fifty cases of preventible calamities; misfortunes which furnish the pessimist with the cynically penetrating remark of the playwright: "Life's a quaint present from somebody." The case records clearly indicate that the workman is at a serious disadvantage for the combat with organized selfishness and greed. It is well-nigh impossible for him to challenge the system which sacrifices him without a thought for his well-being; which is blind to the serious consequences that result in the destruction of his home. Truly, "we must make work steadier and more secure, make re-employment swifter when men and women are laid off, must insure against want the families of breadwinners who seek work and cannot find it."

Certain pronounced effects of unemployment are definitely illustrated by the recordings. The economic and physical effects are clear; reduced earnings involve a train of sequences—savings devastated, loss of homes and inadequate housing, malnutrition, disease, mental depression, and death. One unemployed worker writes: "We become a downhearted, brooding group of famished bodies, too ill to care what becomes of us, too tired and fatigued to keep on living. What a life!"

It is, indeed, a comment upon our intellectual status that we should have been thus far unable to cope with the problem. Much of this inadequacy results from a cultural lag which marks us as a nation slavishly cherishing an independent individuality, lionizing the self-made, and scorning anything that savors of collective effort in behalf of the human element, lest we be dubbed socialistic in our views. And Mr. Kellogg is fundamentally sound when he contends that "we

insure every risk from a plate-glass window to the education of our grandchildren, but balk at the idea when it comes to any share of the unwritten payroll of the unemployed." Read it and weep!

M. J. V.

METHODS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. By STUART A. RICE, editor.
University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xiii+822.

This is a distinctly unique and commanding volume. It is original and comprehensive in conception. It is a case book in social research, and more. It is a double-headed project in which particular research studies of scholars are presented, and then reviewed critically by another scholar from the standpoint of the research methods used. The strong and weak points of the given methods are discussed.

The whole range of social science is represented: sociology, history, economics, social statistics, anthropology, political science, social work. The roster of scholars both as contributors and as analysts is extensive. The line up of special research studies that are discussed is in itself worth special mention. The combined presentation of research methods and the criticisms thereof is alone worth while.

What might be called the conceptual method receives the largest share of attention. No one can examine this volume and not be impressed by the role of concepts in research. Concepts are given a new dignity. At last they are being recognized as vital to careful thinking, although their origin and derivation may be quite accidental or even the result, to a large extent, of deductive thinking. Moreover, concepts are being scrutinized more than ever before. Each one must give reason for its acceptance, each is being tested by concrete studies. Concepts, as generalizations, are still subject to two dangers, namely: of being unscientifically derived, and of being used so generally that they acquire confusing if not contradictory meanings. They are used too freely by the untrained to explain simply the highly complex and intricate and thus may become tools of deception.

The methods of statistics receive new recognition by friendly critics. Likewise, the methods of life histories and case analyses are given considerable space and are handled favorably, although with caution. The volume is incomplete but a worthy addition to the encyclopedic literature in social science that is now developing.

E. S. B.

Pacific Sociological Society Notes

On April 23 the spring meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held at Occidental College. The morning session under the chairmanship of Dr. Clarence Marsh Case was devoted to topics of a more or less strictly sociological nature, while the afternoon session led by Dr. Martin H. Neumeyer was given over to consideration of some of the local social research being carried on by "extra-college" agencies.

The addresses of the morning were not only broadly representative of the field of sociology, but they were decidedly practical in content. Dr. Meyer Nimkoff maintaining that successful married life is dominantly contingent upon personality adjustments stressed the importance of education for family life. Sex education is important, of course, but of equally great moment is mutual understanding of personalities and roles for the sake of adjustments necessitated by marriage. Trivial irritating incidents between husbands and wives based upon this lack of mutual understanding, when recurring and cumulative oftentimes portend dire consequences. The influence of the urban community on personality was the theme of Dr. B. A. McClenahan's address. The type of community determines the nature of the social life, and this in turn effects personality. Changing forms of city life change personality. The economic life of the group is a powerful determinant of personality. Then shifting to a more impersonal phase Professor Carl D. Wells discussed the effect of urban life on Protestant Christianity. The speaker traced a process in which the first stage is a state of church-maladjustment resultant from increased urbanity. Then follows a period of re-evaluation and reorganizing on the part of the church in an endeavor to make itself essential to city life and satisfy the needs of urbanites. Finally the church is adjusted and subsequent adjustment is forced upon newcomers who coming from rural areas feel out of place in the new city church. Dr. George M. Day outlined social change in Russia under three main headings: (1) Economic, in which some aspects of the five year plan were considered; (2) education, which now leans as far in the direction of the practical as formerly it did toward the so-called cultural, which smacks as much now of proletariat propaganda as formerly it favored the aristocracy, and which now is as

much mass education as formerly it catered to just the privileged few; and (3) religion, probably the most seriously smitten phase of the "old culture," since Russia is striving through a most active plan of education to eliminate religion both structurally and conceptually. An inkling of the technique involved in survey making was afforded by Dr. G. B. Mangold. Some of the main points were: evaluate findings in terms of agencies; present findings psychologically for the sake of obtaining and holding reader-interest, rather than logically for the mere sake of proper sequence; do not recommend too many nor too radical changes at a given time for communities like individuals are easily antagonized and must be educated for social change.

In the afternoon Mr. Willis Clark and Mr. Alfred Lewerenz told something of the work of the Educational Research Department of the Los Angeles schools whose grand objective is to "make education socializing and personal, and not a mass project." One tool of the department, the *Orientation Test*, was presented. The mechanism consists of several hundred questions on all phases of knowledge, one's ranking depending upon answers given. The test is designed to measure how well individuals rank according to the criteria of fundamental aims of education. A most valuable address ecologically was that of Guy Marion who pointed out how much more significant census materials become when enumeration is by the "tract" system rather than *en masse* for the city as a whole. By dividing Los Angeles into tracts or areas and in each recording all census data it is possible to trace development of identical areas from year to year; whereas mass comparisons are meaningless for there is no consideration given territorial expansion. Mr. Harold Stone stressed two main objectives of the California Tax Payers Association: (1) to educate the people as to the nature and function of governmental groups in general by presenting facts of government to the electorate, and (2) to make suggestions to government officials on the basis of findings made by the research department. The concluding address of the day was by John D. Bushnell representative of an "Economic Service Bureau." The essence of this talk was that economic service organizations with trained research staffs are assuming increasingly important roles in the larger cities, where studies of a social and economic nature are continually in process and findings readily available. This indicates a trend in the direction of analysis and classification of the facts of modern urban life.

G. D. N.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

GREAT BRITAIN'S unemployment insurance has usually been termed, erroneously, the dole, but the extraordinary amount of unemployment during the last decade has brought about such a condition that there actually is a dole now, paid by the government exchequer, and what is left of the insurance plan is barely limping along. Insurance in principle was designed to relieve short periods of unemployment, the cost to be borne by employee, employer, and State. Unfortunately, with continued unemployment of some 2,000,000 or more persons, insurance funds have been exhausted, the workers fund is running behind in the sum of \$5,000,000 per week, and the State is left to meet the issue as best it can. Americans need to be concerned about a dole on their own account. Public agencies supported out of taxation are spending millions for the relief of families, and in some cases the public relief ranges from 70 to 90 per cent—this without unemployment insurance funds to ease the load.

THE POPE, in his encyclical on labor, maintains that it is a man's right to earn enough to keep his family happy, and he condemns economic dictatorship, the degradation of the state by monied interests, the present maladjustments in economic life, also Socialism and Communism. Thus he proposes a living wage, better distribution of wealth, control of competition, profit-sharing in favor of the workers, etc. Laudable as the encyclical sounds, the Pope is nevertheless defending the *status quo* of the capitalist-property order, tempered by Christian principles. Accordingly, those in power of our present economy may thus continue to function, but they must observe the requirements of social justice. Naturally, the Pope is against Socialism and Communism, which aim to destroy the existing order. *Apropos*, it may be suggested that the Catholic Church is in some countries the richest property owner, tax exempt, and therefore has much at stake. Perhaps property and extraterritoriality, as well as anti-fascist moves, are behind the current struggle between Mussolini and the Papacy. Spain also is rapidly limiting the Church in the new republican state. In Spain, the Church has tremendous wealth—one third of the nation's total—an annual income of about 460,000,000 pesetas, over a fourth of it paid directly by the government,

and all tax free. The drift seems to be an early break between the Spanish government and the Vatican. Mussolini, again, patently has no love or sympathy for the Papacy, but is governed by expediency. If Fascism and the Vatican conflict, Mussolini will use any opportune means to promote Fascism and to eradicate interference by Catholic organizations. It should not be overlooked that Fascism and Communism also have religious fervor to speed them onward, and both are social movements of world import.

IN SPAIN, religious liberty in the schools has been decreed. For many centuries religious instruction has been compulsory in State-financed schools; now such instruction becomes optional, and if the schoolmaster refuses to serve, a priest may volunteer without pay. Thousands of new schools are to be built by the State, and these may in time replace parochial schools. The status now is, that the Republican Government does not profess the Catholic religion as official, and separation of Church and State seems imminent.

RUSSIA is shifting her trade to Germany, England, and other European countries, and is "high-hatting" the United States. Except for certain contracts with the Ford Motor Company and General Electric Company, only actual necessities will hereafter be purchased from the United States. This attitude seems in part due to irritation at the exposure by the investigation Commission headed by Hon. Hamilton Fish, Jr. Furthermore, the tariff barriers raised by the United States naturally drive away foreign trade, that of Russia included. Russians will buy where prices are advantageous; they have the same problems of world competition as obtain for all nations. Then too, Russia is becoming able to manufacture for herself in increasing degree, and her dependence upon the United States diminishes correspondingly. Since credit is so important during this period of Russian industrialization, European countries that are willing to offer better terms are getting the business. The executive committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, on the other hand, is urging an embargo on soviet commodities, and opposes the export of American industrial equipment and the extension of technical advice to the Russian government. It seems rather late for such an action, after the millions of dollars of manufactures which have been sold to Russia by the largest corporations in the United States, thus directly aiding the success of Communism there, while at the same time fighting against the spread of such doctrines in America.

THE BRITISH-FRENCH-ITALIAN naval agreement, which in essential provides that there should be no race for naval power for a five-year period, has met with considerable international complication, particularly because of conflict with the London Naval Pact of 1930. Let us hope that nothing will prevent the great world disarmament parley which the London treaty planned for Geneva in February, 1932. That is more important than any three-cornered discussion. Europe cannot accomplish disarmament alone, however, but wants and needs the moral support from America. For example, France and Germany show signs of obduracy—they both are standing for national security and do not seem to favor immediate disarmament. Will the United States help or take a negative attitude next February? Nations that observe a do-nothing policy on disarmament deserve criticism for backwardness in the modern trend of internationalism, and become partly responsible for the world-wide burden of armament.

ALIENS who are illegal residents in this country are being deported as rapidly as Secretary of Labor Doak can arrange for the necessary warrants. The move is impartial, no campaign for selected elimination being acknowledged. The drive aims at deportation of some 400,000 aliens. Nearly 17,000 were deported last year, and no less than 20,000 will have to go this year. This is regarded as one way of relieving unemployment—America for Americans only—but for a total of six to eight million unemployed persons, ridding ourselves of aliens is only nibbling at the problem. It is not an enviable task to carry out the letter of the deportation law, especially when, as sometimes, the deportation slip amounts virtually to a death warrant. For instance, when Tao Hsuan Li, a graduate of Stanford University, is deported to China, his great chance is that of being shot as a Communist by the Chinese government, once he gets into their hands. In the U.S.A., Communism is not a crime. But it would seem as if the alien drive is not altogether unmindful of radicals.

CHINA is rushing into the throes of civil war, as the powerful revolutionary faction in southern China (Canton) and Nanking widen their breach. Of course, almost daily there is news of brigandage, Communist depredation, lawlessness, but we are so accustomed to that state of affairs in China that it scarcely causes comment. No country appears more chaotic politically today than does China, and although the Nationalist movement has done wonders for its short span of life, and promises much more, the chief program now surely is to achieve unity, or at least, to preserve the measure of unity that exists for China's revolutionary government.

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

THE CHURCH ON WAR AND PEACE. A noteworthy study of opinion on the war question was made by the *World Tomorrow* (New York), as reported in the May issue. Questionnaires were sent to 53,041 ministers of twelve leading denominations and to those of some smaller groups. Of this number, 3,000 were sent to students in theological seminaries. The total number of replies amounted to 19,372, including 1,101 from theological students. Sixty-six per cent favor the immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations, 83 per cent do not favor military training in our public high schools and civilian colleges and universities, 80 per cent favor substantial reduction in armaments, 62 per cent believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our government to protect the lives and property of Americans should be abandoned and protective efforts be confined to pacific means, 62 per cent believe that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war, 54 per cent are prepared to state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant, 45 per cent feel that they could conscientiously serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in wartime, 43 per cent believe that the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war is sufficiently valid to justify their sanctioning or participating in a future war of "defense." *World Tomorrow*, May, 1931.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE COAL INDUSTRY OF COLORADO. Following the coal strike in Colorado in 1927-1928, the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches undertook to study the situation in the coal industry of that state with a view of discovering the causes of the recurrent industrial conflict. The basic factor in the situation is the excessive capacity of the industry. The demand is only about half as great as their capacity to produce. The Colorado mines produced 9,781,580 tons of coal in

1927, during which year the mines operated only 196 days. To gain competitive advantage the mine operators resorted to wage cuts. This, in addition to the reduced working days, curtailed the yearly wages considerably. The labor cost of operating mines ranges from 70 to 80 per cent of the total cost. The rise of unions, the struggle for collective bargaining, strikes, the activities of the militia to suppress labor uprisings, as well as the underlying economic factors affecting wages, hours, and working conditions aggravated the situation.

The investigators report an impressive agreement among the employes of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company that the new labor policies of the company since 1915 have resulted in vast improvement in general working and living conditions and a better understanding between the men and the management. The agreement entered into with the United Mine Workers by the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company in 1928 has also made for improvements in wages, working conditions, and understanding. *Information Service*, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, March 14, 1931, pp. 14.

HOW UNEMPLOYMENT AFFECTS NEGROES. The Department of Industrial Relations of the National Urban League has issued three reports of the unemployment situation among Negroes. The first report (March, 1930) placed the number of unemployed Negroes at 330,000. Since then the number has grown steadily. In cities like New York, Atlanta, Memphis, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, from 20 to 30 per cent of the Negro population is unemployed and has been for a year or more. Whites are constantly replacing Negroes, in many instances underbidding them. Negroes are not extensively employed in public work. Noticeable shifts of workers from city to city have menaced situations otherwise perplexing. In only a few cases are conditions improving for the Negro workers. Loans to them by insurance companies are steadily mounting. Detail facts are presented covering the principal cities in the nation and based upon information supplied by persons in daily contact with employment problems. Third mimeographed report, National Urban League, March, 1931, pp. 41.

RURAL SERVICE AGENCIES IN MICHIGAN. The Section of Sociology of the Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science has made several studies of the service agencies for the rural people

of the state under the direction of C. R. Hoffer. The method of study was primarily statistical. Data were secured from reports of State Departments, the United States Census, commercial directories, reports of various organizations, and observations. The chief objects were to ascertain the various available services and the extent of utilization. There are 83 counties in the state of Michigan, 27 of which are entirely rural. In the entire state, there are 169,915 farms and approximately 1,400 towns with less than 5,000 population. Bulletin 207 contains a report of public health and educational services, such as physicians, dentists, hospitals, public health nursing service, public libraries, and school facilities. Bulletin 208 summarizes a study of all meetings held in ten town-country communities except committee meetings, fortuitous or chance gatherings, and those provided by law, such as school sessions. The data presented show that these communities held 12,860 meetings with a total accumulated attendance of 826,145. Churches secured the highest attendance in all communities. More meetings were held for adults than for either young people or children. The programs consisted of a predominance of group singing and study and discussion. Occasions when food was served were also numerous. The element of entertainment and the emphasis upon the main functions of the organizations were found in many programs. Agriculture Experiment Station, East Lansing, Michigan, *Special Bulletins*, 180, 207, and 208, 1931.

Social Drama Notes

GREEN GROW THE LILACS. By LYNN RIGGS. Samuel French, New York and Los Angeles, 1931, pp. viii+166.

Lynn Riggs had a great chance to make this play an epic of a type of frontier life which must now be rapidly passing from the American scene; consequently there is a sense of disappointment present after one has laid the work aside. There are many scenes which, with just a few more masterful touches, might have been truly stirring, but Mr. Riggs seems to have been content with merely painting delicately where he should have used bolder strokes.

The scene of the action is laid in the Indian Territory of 1900; a scene abounding with cowboys and cowgirls, possessing all the breeziness of frontier life. The story is a simple one, that of the bashful cowboy lover and the young miss who would be wooed in gallant romantic manner. Most picturesque of characters is old Aunt Eller Murphy, filled with many a droll witticism, and having a homely array of homespun philosophy all her own. Not less alluring are the quaint folkways of the simple ranch folk. Odors of frying bacon, the sweet smell of freshly churned butter, sounds of bucking bronchos, bawling of young calves, noises of creaky old wagons—all these float in upon the scene and lend atmospheric touches which bring a certain charm to the play. The narrative of the romance is told in shadowy form, but succeeds in attracting interest. And the introduction of the shivoree—a wedding celebration after the old French custom, *charivari*—marks one of the scenes with hearty entertainment. Mr. Riggs' cowboy songs, friendly but crude, woven into the fabric of the play, give to it a fresh and natural exuberance, if you like and can stand this type of song. I wish the author had made more of the picture of the itinerant peddler; here was a fine chance for a great character sketch.

M. J. V.

Social Photoplay Notes

Some pictures contain a sufficient number of good qualities to warrant their being ranked as outstanding, only to have these offset by others correspondingly maudlin. *Seed* and *The American Tragedy* are two such examples.

Seed is a magnificent distortion of the novel taking as it does a theme built about "birth control," revamping it into a story involving a husband who calmly leaves a wife and five children for a career, and justifying the whole by blaming love—"You can't master love, it masters you." Criticism lies not with casting, acting, or photography, but with the manner in which the theme is justified by making characters behave in a manner decidedly not true to life. Few wives will calmly, and of their own free will, take the five children and depart for parts unknown in order that friend husband who has been "mastered by love" may not be disturbed. The picture is not convincing save to those who would rationalize certain of their own actions, and leaves one in a decidedly unsatisfied mental state.

It will be recalled that in the story, the "American tragedy" was the hanging of a rather "spineless" youth who was the victim more or less of an environment which he was not strong enough to resist. The picture version delineates first the youth whose moral fibre is weak in his drab colorless environment; then the situations which by contrast seem so alluring, and which overwhelm him; and finally the court trial and the pronouncement of his fate.

The first part is done in a very impressionistic and vivid manner; suggestions in the form of implications, sounds, and gestures supplanting verbosity. Dragging steps, expressionless faces, abjectly performed tasks, confusion, and the ever-present din of machinery as a background introduce us to *The American Tragedy*. But after well wrought sequences like this comes a mighty murder trial and with a shock the picture becomes commonplace. It is a splendid trial, boisterous and complete in all the gory details, but so out of keeping with the beginning that it kills the artistry of the whole. One remembers *The American Tragedy*, not by the main theme dealing with a life buffeted by environment; but by the incidental, a stupendous court scene.

G. D. N.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH



ARTICLES IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES

(September-October, 1931, and later)

Genius as Leader and Person.....	MAPHEUS SMITH
Motion Pictures and the Church Contrasted.....	CARL D. WELLS
Provision for Old Age.....	EARL E. MUNTZ
Problems of Second Generation Chinese.....	KIT KING LOUIS
Group Insurance in Ohio.....	B. F. TIMMONS
Problems of Cosmopolitan Clubs.....	ESTHER S. NEUMEYER
Crime in West Virginia.....	HELEN L. YOKE
Measuring Changes in Opinion.....	W. G. BINNEWIES
Population Increase and Family Status.....	O. D. DUNCAN
Linguistic Changes of Swedish Immigrants.....	CARL M. ROSENQUIST
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Culture Traits of Tibetans.....	DORRIS SHELTON
Racial Intermarriages of Filipinos.....	NELLIE FOSTER
Predictability of Human Behavior.....	ERNEST W. BURGESS
The Fifth Wish.....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS
Mexican Peon Women in Texas.....	RUTH A. ALLEN
Prestige in Attitude Changes.....	C. E. ARNETT ET AL
Filipino Labor in Central California.....	D. E. ANTHONY
Rural Intelligence and College Achievements.....	T. C. MCCORMICK
A Chinese Student and Western Culture.....	CHIENG FU LUNG
Mexican Influence in Southern California.....	HAZEL D. SANTIAGO
Oriental in Seattle Schools.....	JOHN E. CORBALLY
Function of Rural Immigrant Communities.....	J. A. SAATHOFF

ARTICLES IN PRECEDING ISSUE

(May-June, 1931)

Current Social Movements in Mexico.....	WILLIAM KIRK
Pastoral Nomadism and Social Change.....	HOWARD BECKER
Emergence of Race Consciousness.....	W. O. BROWN
Social Setting in Children's Lies.....	MAURICE H. KROUT
Engineers and Social Progress.....	CLARENCE MARSH CASE
Firearms and Homicide.....	H. C. BREARLEY
Social Needs of Porto Rico.....	LAWRENCE GRANGER
Japanese and the Quota.....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS